From Nashville to New Orleans

The Journal and Memoir of

Andrew Jackson Edmondson

during his time as a Volunteer with the Tennessee Infantry

Under General Andrew Jackson

The **March to Camp Jackson** (December 1812-1813) and the

Return Up the Natchez Trace (1813),

The Creek War and the Battle of Talladega (1813), ending in the

Near Mutiny of December 11, 1813,

And

The Battle for Pensacola (1814) and

The **Battle of New Orleans** (1814-1815), including

the **Long Road Home**.

Collected, edited, and enhanced by

Frazor Titus Edmondson, III

Copyright 2024 by Frazor Titus Edmondson, III. All rights reserved, including the right to reproduce this book, publication, its images, or portions thereof in any form whatsoever.

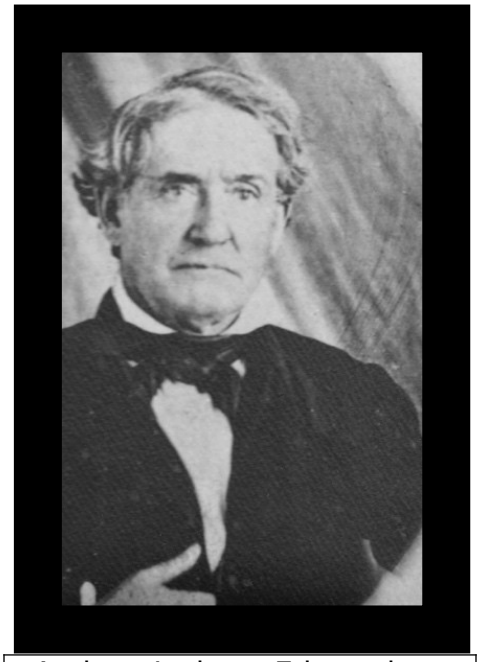
Battle of New Orleans pictorial representation

Trigger Warnings. Material in this publication contains potentially triggering content, including, but not limited to: (1) animal cruelty or death, (2) violence, including depiction of war and frontier atrocities, (3) racism, racial conflict, and racial terrorism, (4) biased representations of African-American and Native American populations that, while commonplace for the time and place discussed, may be upsetting, (4) racial slurs, (5) depictions of slavery, (7) anti-British bias generally, (8) death, severe injury and/or dying, (9) sexism, misogynistic portrayals, non-binary bias, and (10) anachronistic and outdated stereotypes of events, people, perspectives and thought.

Disclaimers. This material is presented herein as to enhance the sum of information around this period in history for the further and better understanding of all. No endorsement or affirmation of the views, language used, points of view, conduct or accounts contained in this material, express or implied, by the author or anyone else is intended. All views expressed are the views of the person(s) who made them.

Forward

This is an annotated and contextualized version of the Journal of Andrew Jackson Edmondson (1793-1872). This version was initially a handwritten copy of the original journal, transcribed by Edmondson in his own hand. His daughter and granddaughter then typeset the journal in the mid-1900s. That typewritten version can be found in the digital archives of the University of Mississippi. This version is a replication of that typeset pdf, lightly edited for context and readability, annotated, and given accompanying maps for the aide of the reader.



Andrew Jackson Edmondson ("AJE")

Edmondson was born in what is now Nashville, Tennessee. His father, Robert Edmondson, Jr., had been wounded at the battle of King's Mountain during the Revolutionary War, subsequently migrated through the Cumberland Gap, established his family near modern-day Nashville, and was wounded again in the Battle of Neely's Ford in Tennessee.

The Journal covers Edmondson's time with the Volunteer Tennessee militia and army raised at several points by General Andrew Jackson from 1812 through the end of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.

Nineteen-year-old Ensign Edmondson first joined up in the militia mustered in December 1812 to protect Mobile and New Orleans. The Journal follows their journey in 1813 to Camp Jackson in Mississippi and leads up to the infamous moment when Andrew Jackson is ordered to dismiss the army of Volunteers in favor of US forces in the area. Jackson, instead of disbanding his force as ordered, marched his troops in organized manner back to Nashville up the Nachez Trace and this trip is covered in detail.

After being mustered out upon return to Nashville, Edmondson volunteered again after the massacre at Ft. Mims in August 1813. He rejoined at Fort Blount near Fayetteville and served until the near mutiny of 11 December 1813 at Fort Strother. His experiences of the near mutiny are described in detail.

Afterward, upon returning to Nashville in January 1814, Edmondson stayed on the farm and was not present at the March 1814 Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Instead, he rejoined Andrew Jackson when in September 1814 the call went out to again muster at Fort Blount. There he joined Cpt. Dyer's company under General Coffee and fought in the Battle of Pensacola on 7 November 1814. Edmondson then participated in the scramble to get to New Orleans to protect the city from the naval invasion by the British under General Packenham. There he served in December 1814 and January 1815 under General Coffee, serving on the General's staff as well as with his unit in the cypress swamps on the north side of the battlefield.

Edmondson's father and mother were alive in Nashville to greet him upon his return from the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.

Historical Context for the AJE Journal and Memoir

For context, Wikipedia notes:[1]

> "On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war on the United Kingdom, launching the War of 1812. Though the war was primarily caused by maritime issues, it provided white American settlers on the southern frontier the opportunity to overcome Native American resistance to settlement, undermine British support of the Native American tribes, and pry Florida from the Spanish Empire.
>
> Jackson immediately offered to raise volunteers for the war, but he was not called to duty until after the United States military was repeatedly defeated in the American Northwest. After these defeats, in January 1813, Jackson enlisted over 2,000 volunteers, who were ordered to head to New Orleans to defend against a British attack. When his forces arrived at Natchez, they were ordered to halt by General Wilkinson, the commander at New Orleans and the man Jackson accused of treason after the Burr adventure. A little later, Jackson received a letter from the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, stating that his volunteers were not needed, and that they were to hand over any supplies to Wilkinson and disband. Jackson refused to disband his troops; instead, he led them on the difficult march back to Nashville, earning the nickname "Hickory" (later "Old Hickory") for his toughness.
>
> After returning to Nashville, Jackson and one of his colonels, John Coffee, got into a street brawl over honor with the brothers Jesse and Thomas Hart Benton. Nobody was killed, but Jackson received a gunshot in the shoulder that nearly killed him.
>
> Jackson had not fully recovered from his wounds when Governor Willie Blount called out the militia in September 1813 following the August Fort Mims Massacre. The Red Sticks, a Creek Confederacy faction that had allied with Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief who was fighting with the British against the United States, killed about 250 militia men and civilians at Fort Mims in retaliation for an ambush by American militia at Burnt Corn Creek.
>
> Jackson's objective was to destroy the Red Sticks. He headed south from Fayetteville, Tennessee, in October with 2,500 militia, establishing Fort Strother as his supply base. He sent his cavalry under General Coffee ahead of the main force, destroying Red Stick villages and capturing supplies. Coffee defeated a band of Red Sticks

[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrew_Jackson (accessed May 30, 2024). See license contained in the References section. All Wikipedia entries used herein are done so by license and fair use.

at the Battle of Tallahatchie on November 3, and Jackson defeated another band later that month at the Battle of Talladega.

By January 1814, the expiration of enlistments and desertion had reduced Jackson's force by about 1,000 volunteers, but he continued the offensive. The Red Sticks counterattacked at the Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek. Jackson repelled them but was forced to withdraw to Fort Strother. Jackson's army was reinforced by further recruitment and the addition of a regular army unit, the 39th U.S. Infantry Regiment. The combined force of 3,000 men—including Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek allies—attacked a Red Stick fort at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River, which was manned by about 1,000 men. The Red Sticks were overwhelmed and massacred. Almost all their warriors were killed, and nearly 300 women and children were taken prisoner and distributed to Jackson's Native American allies. The victory broke the power of the Red Sticks. Jackson continued his scorched-earth campaign of burning villages, destroying supplies,[97] and starving Red Stick women and children. The campaign ended when William Weatherford, the Red Stick leader, surrendered, although some Red Sticks fled to East Florida.

On June 8, Jackson was appointed a brigadier general in the United States Army, and 10 days later was made a brevet major general with command of the Seventh Military District, which included Tennessee, Louisiana, the Mississippi Territory, and the Muscogee Creek Confederacy. With President James Madison's approval, Jackson imposed the Treaty of Fort Jackson. The treaty required all Creek, including those who had remained allies, to surrender 23,000,000 acres (9,300,000 ha) of land to the United States.

Jackson then turned his attention to the British and Spanish. He moved his forces to Mobile, Alabama, in August, accused the Spanish governor of West Florida, Mateo González Manrique, of arming the Red Sticks, and threatened to attack. The governor responded by inviting the British to land at Pensacola to defend it, which violated Spanish neutrality. The British attempted to capture Mobile, but their invasion fleet was repulsed at Fort Bowyer. Jackson then invaded Florida, defeating the Spanish and British forces at the Battle of Pensacola on November 7. Afterwards, the Spanish surrendered, and the British withdrew. Weeks later, Jackson learned that the British were planning an attack on New Orleans, which was the gateway to the Lower Mississippi River and control of the American West. He evacuated Pensacola,

strengthened the garrison at Mobile, and led his troops to New Orleans.

Jackson arrived in New Orleans on December 1, 1814. There he instituted martial law because he worried about the loyalty of the city's Creole and Spanish inhabitants. He augmented his force by forming an alliance with Jean Lafitte's smugglers and raising units of free African Americans and Creek, paying non-white volunteers the same salary as whites. This gave Jackson a force of about 5,000 men when the British arrived.

The British arrived in New Orleans in mid-December. Admiral Alexander Cochrane was the overall commander of the operation; General Edward Pakenham commanded the army of 10,000 soldiers, many of whom had served in the Napoleonic Wars. As the British advanced up the east bank of the Mississippi River, Jackson constructed a fortified position to block them. The climactic battle took place on January 8, 1815, when the British launched a frontal assault. Their troops made easy targets for the Americans protected by their parapets, and the attack ended in disaster. The British suffered over 2,000 casualties (including Pakenham) to the Americans' 60.

The British decamped from New Orleans at the end of January 1815, but they still remained a threat. Jackson refused to lift martial law and kept the militia under arms. He approved the execution of six militiamen for desertion. Some Creoles registered as French citizens with the French consul and demanded to be discharged from the militia due to their foreign nationality. Jackson then ordered all French citizens to leave the city within three days, and had a member of the Louisiana legislature, Louis Louaillier, arrested when he wrote a newspaper article criticizing Jackson's continuation of martial law. U.S. District Court Judge Dominic A. Hall signed a writ of habeas corpus for Louaillier's release. Jackson had Hall arrested too. A military court ordered Louaillier's release, but Jackson kept him in prison and evicted Hall from the city. Although Jackson lifted martial law when he received official word that the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war with the British, had been signed, his previous behavior tainted his reputation in New Orleans.

Jackson's victory made him a national hero and assured that the United States control of the region between Mobile and New Orleans would not be effectively contested by European powers. This control allowed the American government to ignore one of the

articles in the treaty, which would have returned the Creek lands taken in the Treaty of Fort Jackson."[2]

Frazor Titus ("Ty") Edmondson, III
January 2025

[2] *Ibid*.

Table of Contents

Preface by Charlotte Adee Edmondson Elam

I. The Journal of Andrew Jackson Edmondson

1. Initial Mustering (December 1812)
2. Down the Cumberland (January 1813)
3. The Earthquake Damage from New Madrid (1811 Earthquake)
4. Arrival at Natchez and Camp Jackson
5. The Order to Disband
6. Home to Tennessee

II. Memoir of the Creek War

7. Explanatory Note by Andrew Jackson Edmondson
8. Background to the Campaign of 1813 (Creek War)
9. The Campaign of 1813
10. Deserters
11. Fort Strother
12. The March to Talladega
13. The Battle of Talladega (9 November 1813)
14. Almost a Mutiny; and then Home (January 1814)

III. The Battle of New Orleans

15. Mustering (September 1814) and The Road to Florida
16. Pensacola
17. The Spy Says: New Orleans
18. New Orleans, Friday, 23 December 1813
    a. Naval bombardment
    b. Defense of the U.S. Left Flank
    c. Friends or Enemies?
    d. Confusion in the Ranks
19. The Breastwork and Bombardment
20. The Battle of New Orleans
21. Shipping Corn
22. Peace and Lice
23. Home for Good

Post-Script and References

Preface

Charlotte Adee Edmondson Elam

The following journal was written by Andrew Jackson Edmondson, born in 1793, the youngest child of Robert and Isabella (Buchanan) Edmondson. The family lived near Nashville, Tennessee. Andrew Jackson Edmondson died 30 April 1872, in Shelby County, Tennessee. His obituary appeared in The Memphis Sunday Appeal on 19 May 1872.

The manuscript of the journal is owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Emri LeDavis Stidham, nee' Mary Edmondson Williams,[3] and was prepared for publication by a great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Charlotte Adee Edmondson Elam.[4] A Xerox copy of the manuscript may be seen in the Mississippi Valley Collection of the Library of Memphis State University.

Effort has been made to copy spelling and any punctuation exactly. Uncertain words have been underlined.

There is a loose note in the volume:

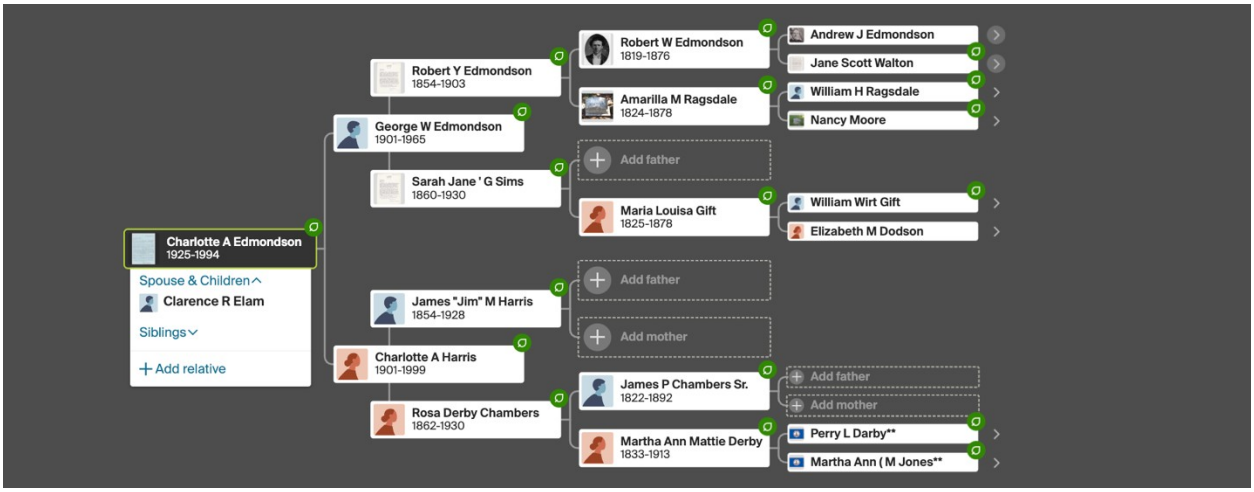
> "This book contains my grandfather, Andrew Jackson Edmondson's diary when a volunteer under General Andrew Jackson in 1812-13.
>
> The original diary belongs to my Cousin Andrew S. Edmondson.
>
> In 1870 or 1871 my mother persuaded her father to copy the original diary for her. This book is the copy in Grandfather's own handwriting."
>
> (Signed) Susie Bray Williams[5]

[3] Mary Edmondson Williams was the great-granddaughter of AJE. AJE's daughter, Mary Holmes (Edmondson) Bray (1829-1901) was the mother of Suzie Tate (Bray) Williams (1874-1955), who was the mother of Mary Edmondson (Williams) Stidham (1901-1980).

[4] Charlotte Adee (Edmondson) Elam (1925-1994) was the great-great granddaughter of AJE. AJE's son, Robert Edmondson (1819-1876) was the father of Robert Y Edmondson (1854-1903) who was the father of George W. Edmondson (1901-1965) who was Charlotte Adee Edmondson's father.

[5] Susie Tate (Bray) Williams was the granddaughter of AJE and mother of Mary Edmondson Williams. AJE's daughter, Mary Holmes (Edmondson) Bray (1829-1901) was the mother of Susie Tate Bray.

Mary E Williams
1901-1980
Spouse & Children
Emri L Stidham Sr.
Howard D. Stidham
Emri L Stidham Jr
Betty Lou Stidham
Add relative
Lemuel G. Williams
1844-1926
Marion R Williams
Lucy Malinda Williams
1854-1929
John Joel Williams
1816-1895
Add father
Ruth M. SELVIN
Frances A (Roberson
1817-
Add father
Add mother
Joseph H Hawley Sr
1820-1857
Potential
Hezekiah Hawley
+1
Potential
Malinda (Fenley
+1
Susan Carter Brown
1821-1867
James Williamson Brown
Mary Anne Carter
Edmund Dozier Bray
1811-1880
Add father
Add mother
Susie Tate Bray
1874-1955
Mary Holmes Edmondson
1829-1901
Andrew J Edmondson
1793-1872
Robert Edmondson Jr
Isabella Buchanan
Mary Ann Howard
1800-1861
Edward Howard
Edith L. Murphy


Charlotte A Edmondson
1925-1994
Spouse & Children
Clarence R Elam
Siblings
Add relative
Robert Y Edmondson
1854-1903
George W Edmondson
1901-1965
Sarah Jane ' G Sims
1860-1930
James "Jim" M Harris
1854-1928
Charlotte A Harris
1901-1999
Rosa Derby Chambers
1862-1930
Robert W Edmondson
1819-1876
Amarilla M Ragsdale
1824-1878
Add father
Maria Louisa Gift
1825-1878
Add father
Add mother
James P Chambers Sr.
1822-1892
Martha Ann Mattie Derby
1833-1913
Andrew J Edmondson
Jane Scott Walton
William H Ragsdale
Nancy Moore
William Wirt Gift
Elizabeth M Dodson
Add father
Add mother
Perry L Darby**
Martha Ann (M Jones**

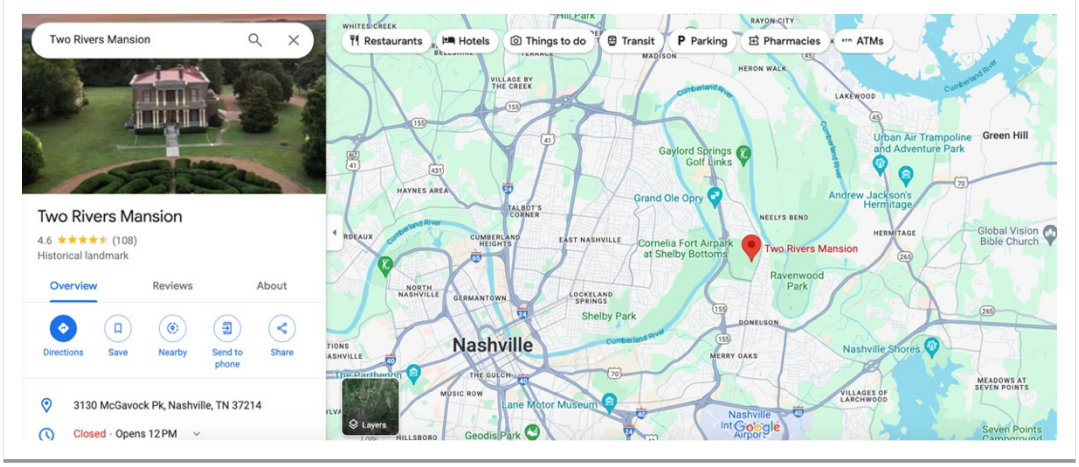
A Journal of the Campaign of a Detachment of Volunteers to the lower Mississippi under General Jackson in 1812 and 1813

By

Andrew Jackson Edmondson
Ensign, Tennessee Volunteers

1. Initial Mustering (December 1812)

We rendezvoused at Nashville on the 10th of December 1812 in preparation to entering service. We were then officially mustered into service a few days after and encamped below Nashville on the plantation of David McGavock[6] and called it Camp Extortion. We continued there until the end of the month.



[6] This Antebellum mansion dates back to 1826, built by former Nashville Mayor Randal McGavock. During the Civil War, it was the home of Colonel John and Carrie McGavock, featured in the best-selling novel "Widow of the South." Just a few hundred yards from the front lines of battle, the home served as a hospital during the Battle of Franklin, and its wood floors still show blood stains from the more than 300 soldiers brought in that day. Generals Cleburne, Granbury, Adams and Strahl's bodies laid on the back porch after the battle. The adjacent McGavock Confederate Cemetery contains 1,500 graves, the largest private Confederate cemetery in the U.S. Today, the plantation is restored, open for public tours, and is used for private and community events.

While there we yeomanry for the first term were called to do camp duty. The Commissioned and noncommissioned officers belonging to the three Regiments were called together one day to hear a General Order in relation to our duty as Sentinels. Previous to our being ordered in that duty, there were two Regiments of Infantry & one of Cavalry the Cavalry commanded by Col. John Coffee. The first regiment of infantry was commanded by Col. William Hall. The Second by Col. Thomas H. Benton to whose Regiment I belonged.[7] And the company I was in was commanded by Capt. Thos. Williamson, with 1st Lieutenant Joseph N. Williamson, 2nd Lieutenant Lewis Dillahunty, and myself as Ensign.

The first night we were placed on Guard. Colonel Thomas H. Benton was officer of the day, and it was presumed from the drilling we had received

---

[7] **2nd Regiment (Benton's) Tennessee Volunteer Infantry** - See Regimental Histories of Tennessee Units During the War of 1812, by Tom Kanon, Tennessee State Library and Archives.
COLONEL THOMAS BENTON
DESIGNATION: 2nd Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Infantry
DATES: December 1812 - April 1813
MEN MOSTLY FROM: Williamson, Rutherford, White, Bedford, Davidson, Franklin, Lincoln, and Maury Counties
CAPTAINS: Robert Cannon, George Caperton, George Gibbs, Benjamin Hewett, James McEwen, James McFerrin, William Moore, Isiah Renshaw, Benjamin Reynolds, William J. Smith, Thomas Williamson

BRIEF HISTORY:
Colonel John Coffee commanded this regiment until the end of October 1813, when Coffee was promoted to Brigadier General. John Alcorn took over as colonel and the unit was incorporated with Colonel Newton Cannon's Mounted Riflemen to form the Second Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Riflemen. The Second Regiment, along with Colonel Robert Dyer's First Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Gunmen, formed the brigade under John Coffee. Muster rolls reveal that the regiment went by various designations besides volunteer mounted riflemen: volunteer cavalry; mounted militia; or mounted gunmen.

Many of the men from this unit were with Andrew Jackson on the expedition to Natchez (December 1812 - April 1813) and, consequently, felt their one-year's enlistment expired in December 1813. Jackson insisted that the time not spent in the field did not apply to the terms of enlistment. Hence, a dispute broke out between the troops and Jackson late in 1813. Most of the troops did leave by the end of that year, despite Jackson's strenuous efforts to keep them.

The regiment participated in the battles at Tallushatchee and Talladega (3 November and 9 November 1813) and muster rolls show that practically all of the companies sustained casualties, the most being in Captain John Byrne's company. The regiment's line of march took them from Fayetteville (where the regiment was mustered in), through Huntsville, Fort Deposit, Fort Strother, to the battles, and back the reverse way.

in the day as to our duty. There would be no difficulty in attending to it [as] we were placed in a square [with] each regiment occupying one side and the lifeguard and field officers occupying the other. After Tattoo,[8] the officer of the day started on his rounds. He commenced with the Cavalry officers first as that Regiment was considered as occupying the right. Ours was on the left and he took the gun of every sentinel until he came to me. I was the first one on our square as he approached with his rounds.

> I hailed and asked: “Who comes there?”
> He answered “Rounds”
> “What Rounds”
> “Grand Rounds”
> “Stand Grand Rounds” I said.
> He replied, “Advance Sergeant with the Countersign”
> “Countersign right - pass Grand Rounds”

As they passed in front, it is standard for the Sentinel to presents arms. I had some little pride in my ability to go through the Manual exercise well and did so when the Col stopped in front of me. He praised my performance and asked me to repeat the maneuver, which I did. I had borrowed a rifle when I went on guard and very foolishly had loaded it.

The Colonel asked me if I understood Buonaparte’s manner of coming to a present arms which he said he preferred to any. I told him I did not. He proposed to show me. Being at present arms, I lowered the muzzle of my gun to let him take it, but at that moment it flashed across my mind I had heard my father say a sentinel was never to let anyone come in reach of his arms. And although I had entirely forgot our General Orders, the recollection of the fireside chats I had so often heard from my father and

---

[8] The term dates from around 1600 during the Thirty Years' War in the Low Countries (Belgium and the Netherlands). The Dutch fortresses were garrisoned with mercenary troops who had been under federal command since 1594. The Dutch States Army had become a federal army, consisting mostly of Protestant German, Scottish, English and Swiss mercenaries, but commanded by a Dutch officer corps. Drummers from the garrison were sent out into the towns at 21:30 hrs (9:30 pm) each evening to inform the soldiers that it was time to return to barracks. The process was known as doe den tap toe (Dutch for "turn off the tap"), an instruction to innkeepers to stop serving beer and send the soldiers home for the night. The drummers continued to play until the curfew at 22:00 hrs (10:00 pm). Tattoo, earlier spelled tap-too then taptoo, are alterations of the Dutch words tap toe, which have the same meaning. Taptoo was the earlier alteration of the phrase and was used in George Washington's papers in which he said: "In future the Reveille will beat at day-break; the troop at 8 in the morning; the retreat at sunset and taptoo at nine o'clock in the evening."

his old associates prevented me from the disgrace of a reprimand for the loss of my arms. Hence, I have always been a great stickler for those kind of chats as I think if anything can keep a love of country uppermost in our minds it is what we are taught by our parents in recounting their trials in old times. But for my recollection of this my gun would have been gone. [So I refused to give my gun to the Colonel but] I was so excited, I talked so loud, that it put the sentinel next me on his guard and the Colonel got no gun on our line when once I told him not to touch my arms.

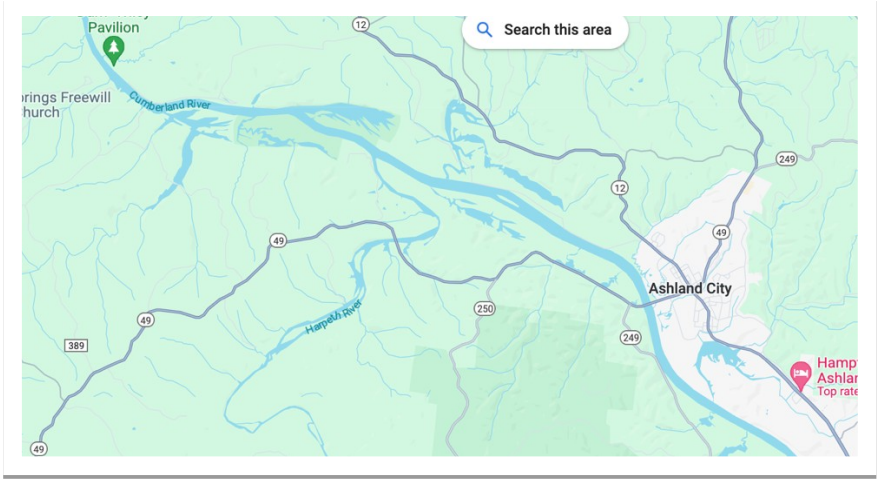
I was so excited & trembled so I came near shouting him.

Why, says he, “if you don’t let me have your gun how can I show you the French mode?” I told him I could not help it, he must not touch my gun. Why says he, “Don’t you know me?” Says me, “Yes, but you must not touch my gun.” With that, he left me and went to try the rest and I failed to learn the French mode.

2. Down the Cumberland (January 1813)

The last of the month we left our camp and went down near McGavock’s Ferry.[9] We were organized into two Regiments of Infantry. The cavalry went some few miles south of Town and formed an encampment which was called Good Exchange & where they stayed until they took up their march for the lower Mississippi. We remained at McGavock’s Ferry, which we called Camp Necessity, until the 7th of Jan 1813, when a portion of us marched down to Jonathan Robertsons & remained until the next evening when we went aboard of the boats and on the 9th, when we put off down the river. Had a cold snowy day encamped on the North side of Cumberland on that evening.

[9] From the 1880’s until 1902, the river was transversed by a private toll ferry. In 1902, Davidson County began operating it and no longer charging a toll to passengers. In 1952, the big news was the three-car ferry being replaced by a new eight-car ferry. By 1961, it was carrying more than 800 vehicles a day. The ferry was finally retired with the building of the Briley Parkway bridge at Pennington Bend in 1965. Now, McGavock Pike is a road bisected by the Cumberland River with no connection between its disparate sides. Due to its traumatic severing and the anger that engendered, the road should be treated with caution, as it could lash out at any time.



On the 10th we started on & landed at the mouth of Harpeth where we are to wait for the General and the balance of the detachment.

On the 11th, still at the mouth of Harpeth. Two men went out hunting today. Killed two tame deer belonging to an old Gentleman named Davidell they were forced to pay for the deer.

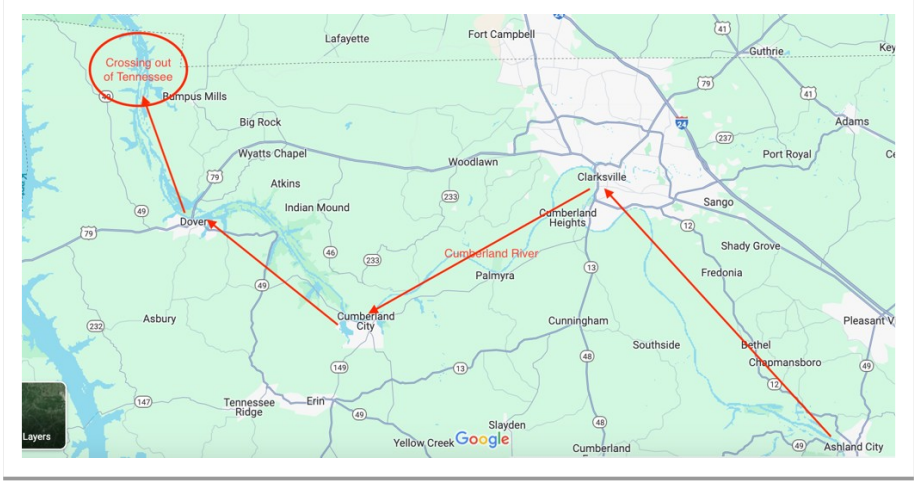
On the 12th, the General and the balance of the infantry came up.

On the 13th, we that were provided with boats (none but two companies of the 2nd Regt were provided, the others had to wait until the boats were built up the Harpeth could be brought down) and started down the river. Once more floated all day and encamped on the South side of the river.

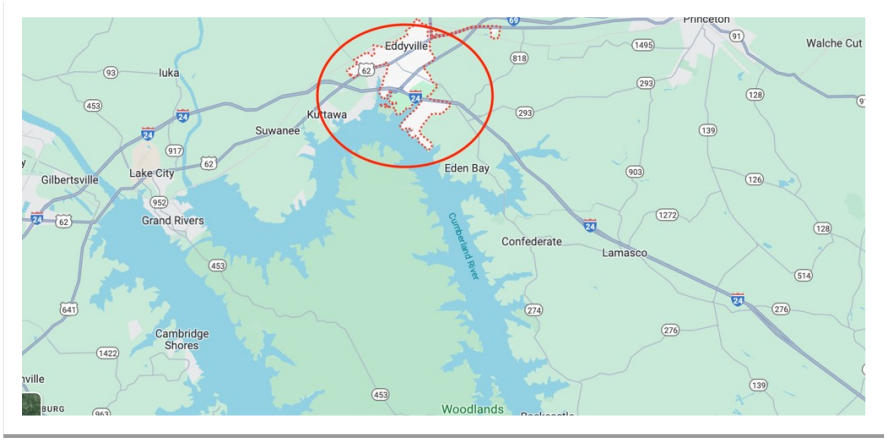
On the 14th: made an early start and about 10 o'clock we landed at Clarksville. Stayed all day receiving pork & flour to supply us to Natchez.

On the 15th: made an early start had a fine day. Made a good day's sail. Encamped on the far side of the river.

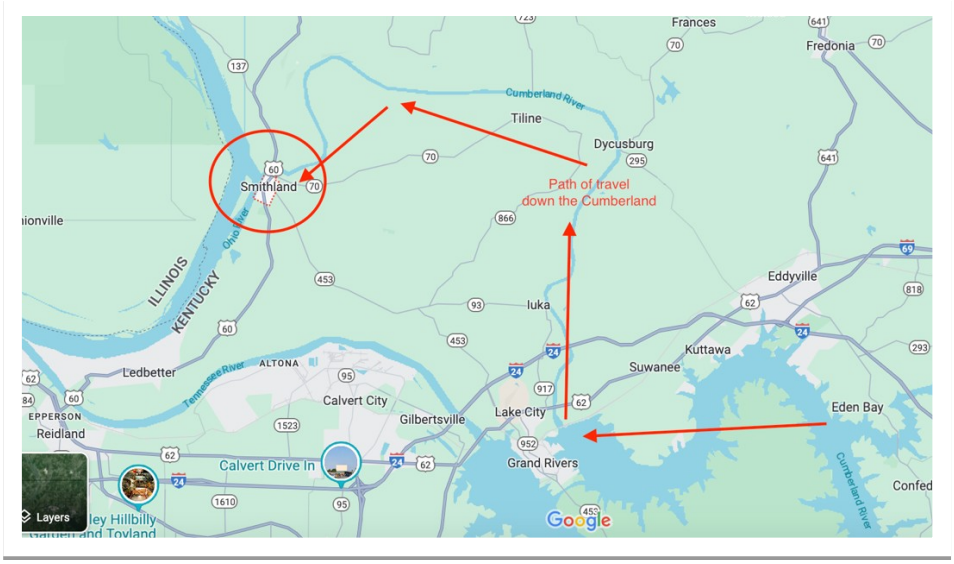
On the 16th: made another early start. Floated all day. At sundown, landed to get wood. Supplied ourselves for the night. Slipped cable and floated all night. Crossed the Tennessee line.



On Sunday the 17th: about 8 o'clock in the morning there was a boat stove belonging to the quarter master. Nothing was lost but the boat. About two o clock our Chaplain Parson Blackman came on board our boat to preach. The top gave way and let the whole of us down into the boat. He finished preaching on board Capt. Renshaw's boat which was lashed to ours. None of us was hurt. We stopped at Eddyville to get plank to repair our boat. It is a small place on the North side of Cumberland. After the repairs, we floated all night. A fine day.



On the 18th: a fine morning - floated until about 2 o'clock P.M. Came to eddy water backed up from the Ohio. 10 o'clock P.M. land about one mile from the mouth of Cumberland on the North side of the river.



On the 19th started on but were stopped at the mouth of the river on account of the ice in the Ohio. Landed at Smithland a poor apology for a town. Paraded in the snow and if ever Borias[10] was in earnest it was now. In the evening went down to the point to look at the Ohio River. The ice was in full bloom. The sun just setting. It looked beautiful.

On the 20th, we moved up the river about a mile. Landed on the North side for convenience of getting wood. Had three men tried for desertion. They belong to Capt. Nash's company from Rutherford. Named two Butler and Snowden. Sentenced to draw half rations for five days and have half a month's of wages docked. They must also wear the chain and ball for three days and drummed along the line for three days. About sundown were brought along the line at quick step.

On the 21st: Still continued here. Had hard drilling all day. About sundown, the deserters were brought along again when they were halted and accosted by the General as follows:

I am surprised to see here men and likely men who turned out Voluntarily in defence of their injured Country after having endured all the cold

[10] Boreas is the Greek god of the cold north wind, storms, and winter. Although he was normally taken as the north wind, the Roman writers Aulus Gellius and Pliny the Elder both took Boreas as a northeast wind, equivalent to the Roman god Aquilo. Boreas is depicted as being very strong, with a violent temper to match. He was frequently shown as a winged old man or sometimes as a young man with shaggy hair and beard, holding a conch shell and wearing a billowing cloak.

weather with cheerfulness and patience now tarnish their honor by deserting their posts.

On the 22nd we still continued at our old encampment. Had another day's drilling and a fine day. In the evening the deserters were brought along the line once more and dismissed from any further punishment.

On the 3rd: We started from the mouth of Cumberland in the ice. About noon John Rogers a private in our Company died. His complaint was heart pleurisy. He was speechless three days before his death. Following is Captain Williamson's letter on the occasion to General Jackson and his answer:

Jan, 23 1813

Dear-Genl .
It is with the utmost regret I announce to you the death of John Roger a private in my Company. He struggled with death and departed this life at 57 minutes past twelve o'clock this day.
I am Sir, with great consideration
Your most obt humble servt,

Thos Williamson
Cpt. 2 Regmt Ten
V Infty

On board the fair Mary

---------Reply --------

Capt Thos Williamson

Sir:

I have this moment rec'd your note giving the melancholy information that John Rogers a private in your company is no more. Being so near Massac,[11] he must be interred there of which due notice will be given. A coffin of some kind must be provided, and we must perform the last sad duties to the body of this unfortunate man in the most respectful manner our situation will allow. It will be well to have him dressed and laid out in the neatest clothing he has. If he has none clean, have some washed as we proceed along and during the night we will endeavor if we reach Massac to have a coffin prepared. I am, with due respect, your fr

Andrew Jackson, Major Genl

Headquarters
On Board the fair Phereby

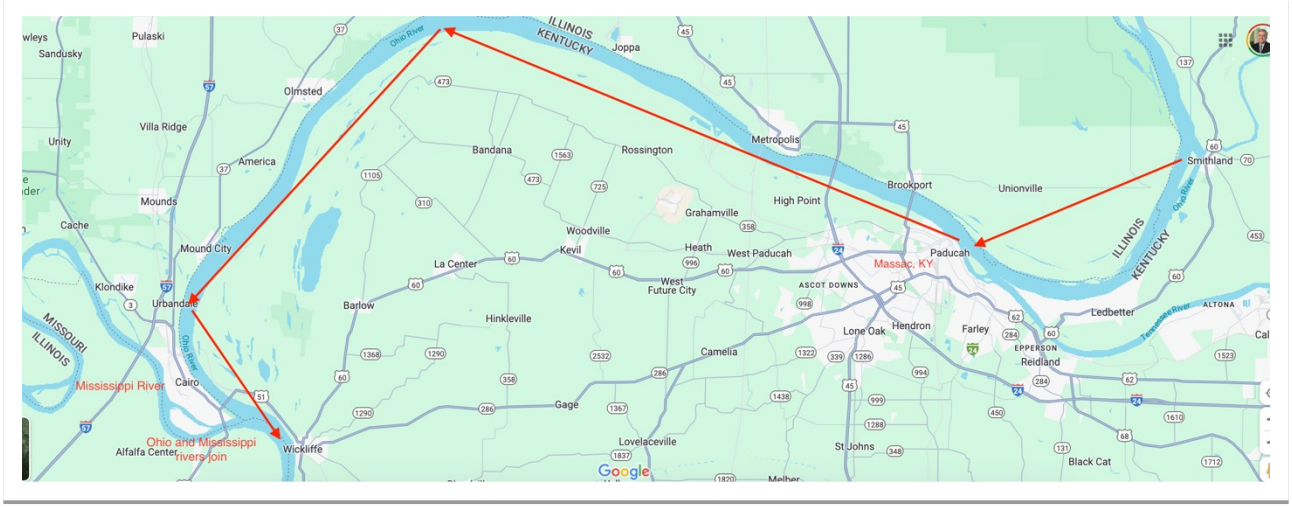
[11] Massac is a census-designated place in McCracken County, Kentucky, United States. The population was 4,635 at the 2020 census. It is part of the Paducah, KY Metropolitan Statistical Area.

About 2 o'clock, we passed the mouth of Tennessee twelve miles from the mouth of Cumberland. The ice was very bad in the Ohio; had a cloudy dull day. Late in the evening we attempted to land opposite Massac, but we could not land there for the ice.

On the 24th we stayed to bury Rogers at Massac. Had a rainy day and night.

On the 25th started once more and proceeded on down river. About 2 o'clock there came up a very severe storm and we were near being cast away. The boat rocked so that the patroon could hardly stand to steer. We landed on the west side of the river.

On the 26th, we proceeded on very early. Had a clear day. Two of our men went ashore for a canoe that got away from us and floated ashore. They could not overtake us with the Canoes, so they committed them to the river and tried it on foot in the snow and ice all day. They came near to being lost with the cold. We landed tonight on Cash Island, about nine miles from the mouth of the Ohio, and the men, in about half an hour, killed 8 deer.



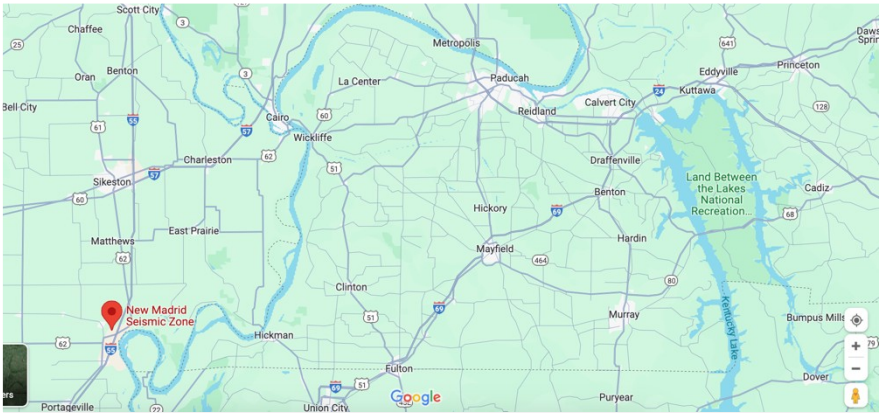
On the 27th started once more before light and passed the mouth of Cash(?) before daylight and landed at the mouth of the Ohio. A man went hunting today. He has not returned tonight.

On the 28th, we still continued (stayed) at the mouth of the Ohio. Lt Col Bradley took some men and paraded on the beach. Col Bradley found the man & returned.

On the 29th still continued at the mouth of the river. Paraded on the beach. The 2nd Regt is not up yet. The Mississippi river rose ten feet in the last 24 hours and still continues to rise.

3. The Earthquake Damage from New Madrid (1811)

On the 30th we left the mouth of the river and moved down the Mississippi. About 12 o'clock we passed the Chalk Bank on the East side of the landing opposite the iron banks. They are in Kentucky. Here we found the effects of the earthquake.[12]



On the 31st more snow on top of the old. We saw some more signs of the earthquake. Landed on the east side of the river about three miles below New Madrid which is on the west side of the river, a beautiful place but nearly deserted since the Shakes. The town's streets have been cut into

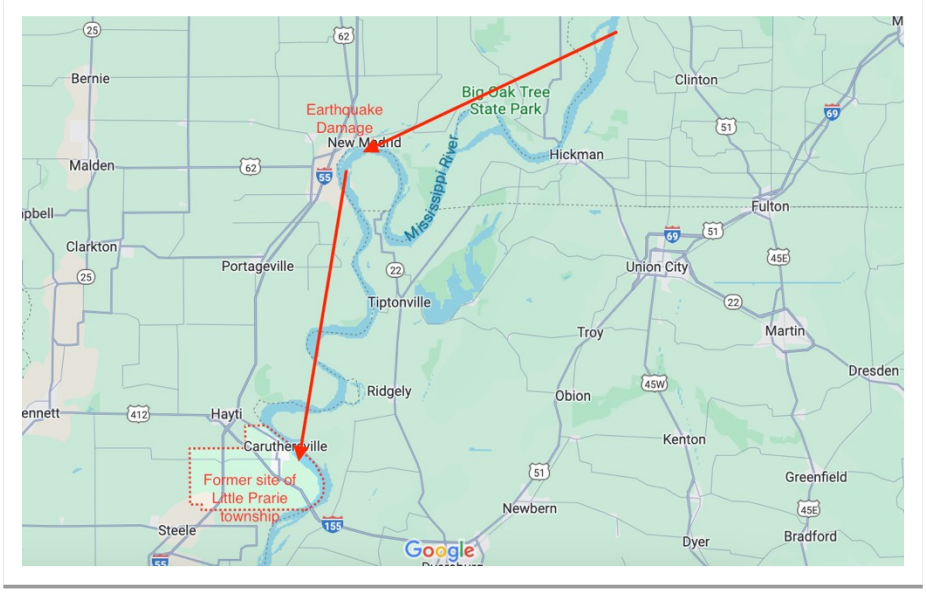
---

[12] The 1811–1812 New Madrid earthquakes were a series of intense intraplate earthquakes beginning with an initial earthquake of moment magnitude 7.2–8.2 on December 16, 1811, followed by a moment magnitude 7.4 aftershock on the same day. Two additional earthquakes of similar magnitude followed in January and February 1812. They remain the most powerful earthquakes to hit the contiguous United States east of the Rocky Mountains in recorded history. The earthquakes, as well as the seismic zone of their occurrence, were named for the Mississippi River town of New Madrid, then part of the Louisiana Territory and now within the U.S. state of Missouri.

The epicenters of the earthquakes were located in an area that at the time was at the distant western edge of the American frontier, only sparsely settled by European settlers. Contemporary accounts have led seismologists to estimate that these stable continental region earthquakes were felt strongly throughout much of the central and eastern United States, across an area of roughly 50,000 square miles (130,000 km^2), and moderately across nearly 1 million sq mi (3 million km^2). The 1906 San Francisco earthquake, by comparison, was felt moderately over roughly 6,200 sq mi (16,000 km^2). The New Madrid earthquakes were interpreted variously by American Indian tribes, but one consensus was universally accepted: the powerful earthquake had to have meant something. For many tribes in Tecumseh's pan-Indian alliance, it meant that Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet must be supported.

trenches so that they are nearly impassable to the river from the town. We landed on the opposite side of the river from the town.

February 1st. We started early and passed about noon the Little Prairie. The ground is torn by the Earthquake very much & the river now runs where the Town once stood. Bayou Pamisco which made out here is now dry. There were several islands above where we landed tonight on the east side of the river.

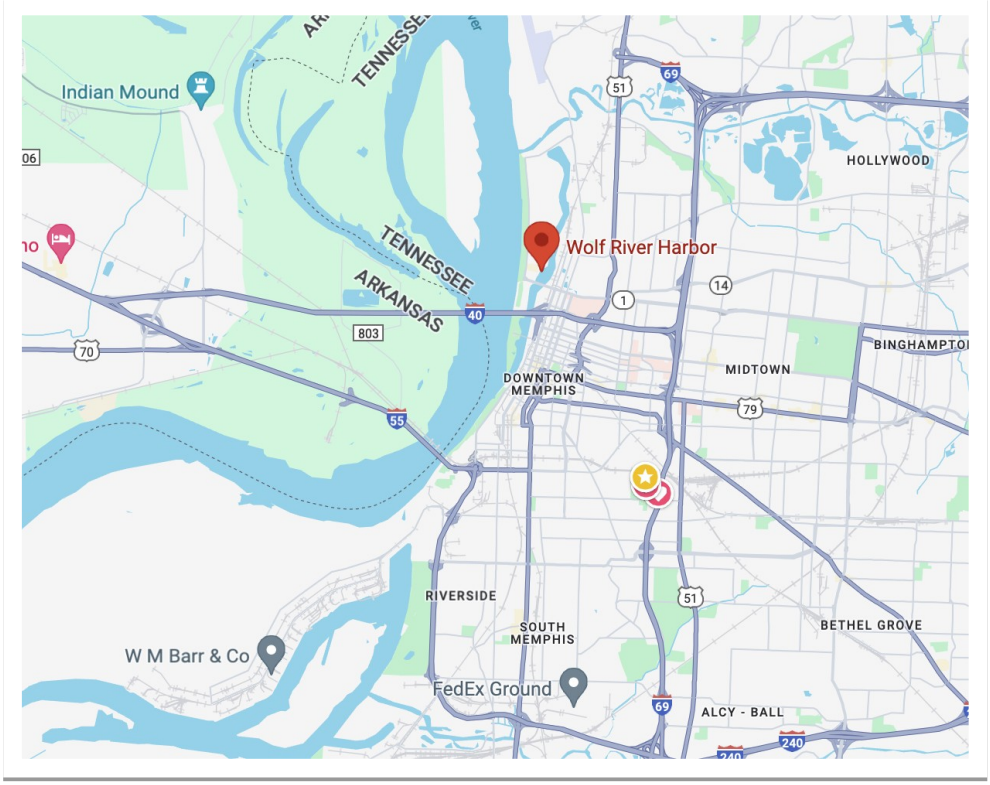


On the 2nd started early and came on very well all day. We landed at night at the upper Chickasaw Bluffs and had a fine day.

On the 3rd started early and passed the middle Chickasaw Bluffs about noon then went through the devil's racetrack or path and landed on the East side of an island. A fine day.

On the 4th started early & landed on the East side of the river above Fort Pickering. A fine day.

On the 5th made another early start and passed the mouth of Wolf River[13] and just below it, Fort Pickering. It looks more like a nigro quarter than a place for defence resembling the fortresses of the Hon Timothy himself on the decline in character. Another fine day; landed on the East side of the river above the grand cutoff.



On the 6th an early start. We passed the cutoff doing 2 miles in 10 minutes. We passed the mouth of the St. Francis and Fort Pike built by & called for Capt., now Col., Pike. We landed on the west side below the big Prairie; a beautiful place. Another fine day.

On the 7th started early and passed prairies on both sides. We had a fine day and landed on the west side for the night.

[13] The Wolf River joins the Mississippi just north of downtown Memphis. The Memphis waterfront is called Wolf Harbor and the mentioned Fort Pickering may have been on what is now Mud Island.

On the 8th started early and passed Grand Lake on the east side of the river and then passed the mouth of White River. A fine day during which we passed prairies and then landed opposite the mouth of Arkansas River. It formerly divided Upper and Lower Louisiana.

On the 9th Started before daylight and had a fine day. Landed on the west side opposite a big Island 2 o clock.

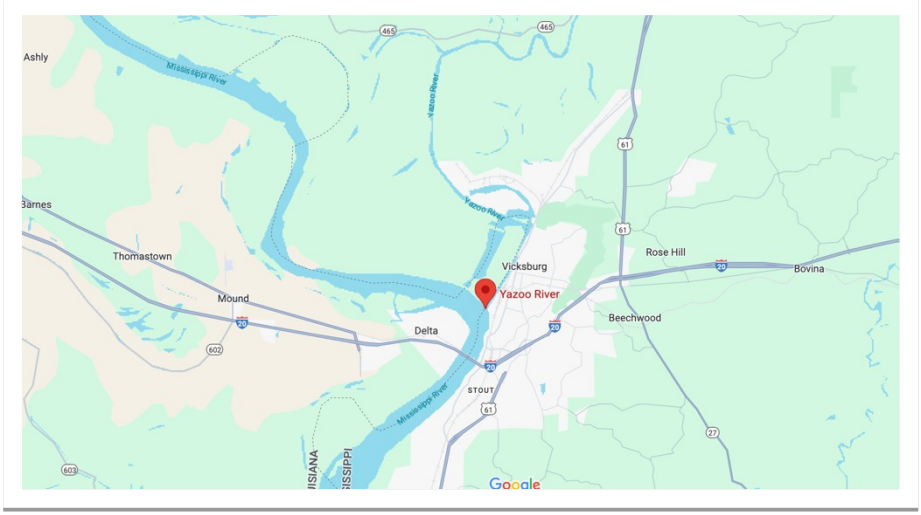
On the 10th started early. Had to haul until about 2 o'clock pm on the East side. Here the 2nd Regiment under Col. Benton overtook us.

On the 11th made and early start. At about 10 o'clock we came to 20-mile reach. Passed Stack Island; then the Crow's Nest. Had a cloudy dark day. Landed on the east side.

On the 12th, started early but had to stop on account of the wind. Landed on the west side.

On the 13th we staid all day the men washing up. A very windy day.

On the 14th Started before day and passed the mouth of the Yazoo River 8 miles above the walnut hills. Plenty of long mass. Had a cloudy day and landed on the east side of the river. Here I had a spell of Cholic. Serjeant Gooch recommended black pepper. Burnt me up nearly.



4. Arrival at Natchez and Camp Jackson

On the 15th Started early and passed Grand Gulf before daylight. Passed the mouth of Bayou Pierre. Also passed Petty Gulph and the plantation of the late Abijah Hunt who was killed in a duel by George Poindexter. Landed about 3 miles above Natchez on the East side. Had a fine day.

On the 16th about 12 o'clock we moved down to the town and put out our guard and had a patrol detailed. Col. Benton issued the following order after the 2nd Regt overtook us -

> Regimental order
>
> The rules and articles of war for the Government of the Armies of the United States are fraught with Salutary provisions and those which are intended to preserve the morals of Armies are not the least considerable. Among the practices herein forbidden and made punishable by those-articles is the unchristian and ungentlemanly Vice of profane Swearing. This vice though practiced by many without any evil intentions is yet practiced in contempt of all laws divine civil & Military and in Violation of the rules of decency and decorum that this vice which is degrading & so little beneficial to those who practice it should be suppressed particularly in the 2nd Regt Tennessee Volunteer Infantry is the earnest wish of the Commandant of that Regiment. He therefore recommends & requests that all officers noncommissioned and privates of the 2nd Regt henceforth desist from the use of profane oaths & it is particularly expected that officers of every grade will aid and assist in carrying this wish into effect particularly by their example. Much has already been said in praise of the Tennessee Volunteers. The Commandant of the 2nd Regt hopes that still more yet will be said to their honor and that their well-earned reputation will not be stained by the fashionable vices of the users.
>
> Thos H Benton Col 2 Regt, T.V.I.

The following is the General order issued previous to the disembarkation of the troops:

> Genl Orders Headquarters near Natchez
>
> February 16th 1813
>
> The General has to announce to the Infantry under his command that a disembarkation of the troops will take place at Natchez so soon as the wagons can be procured for the transportation of the baggage to the cantonment. As soon as disembarked we are to pass through a polished part of our citizens. Good order silence and polite language towards all the citizens as well as to each other are to be religiously observed by all the detachment under pain of immediate

punishment for disobedience of this order. The eyes of the American Nation are upon us. We are the forlorn hope of the militia of the Union. On us depends the restoration of the hard work and safe defences of a free people.

A well-organized Militia. It behooves every officer & soldier belonging to my detachment by his soldier like conduct by his urbanity & polite attention to the good citizens of the Country in order to show them that we are the protectors of their individual rights as well as against foreign enemies or domestic factions. The Major Genl therefore hopes that every officer and Soldier he has the honor to command will behave himself in every respect as a gentleman and realize the wishes of their Genl & their country. The Quarter Masters of the 1st & 2nd Regt will proceed immediately to Natchez & proceed without delay in conjunction with the deputy Quarter Masters agent to procure a sufficient number of wagons to transport our baggage to the cantonment. The detachment will immediately proceed and land opposite Natchez where they will disembark

By order of the Major Genl Andrew Hines, aid de camp

On the 17th we disembarked and passed through Natchez to Fort Dearbourn.[14] We had a muddy, wet day.

[14] Governor Claiborne's main effort, during his administration, was exerted to place the Natchez district in a condition of military preparedness in case of war with France or Spain, the relations of those countries with the United States being such that some fortuitous circumstance was at any time likely to precipitate hostilities. He was anxious also, at the time when it was reported that Gen. Victor and 10,000 French soldiers were on their way to New Orleans, to occupy that city with his Natchez militia. But before that, as a military center, for the storing of arms and ammunition, for the militia as well as for the United States army, and for wholesome effect upon the Indians, he urged upon the general government the erection of a blockhouse and barracks in the central part of the district. In April, 1802, he was informed that President Jefferson favored the suggestion, and would order a detachment of troops to occupy such a position as might be desired. The governor replied that he would arrange at once for the building of a small blockhouse for temporary use about 400 yards from his house and about the same distance from the town of Washington. In July, he reported that a lieutenant and 36 men from Fort Adams, were stationed near Washington. The site for a blockhouse was selected on the land of Joseph Calvit, who proposed to give enough for the purpose. But as the project ripened, the governor decided to create a larger military reservation, and bought from Mr. Calvit, early in 1803, at $15 per acre, 43 acres on a beautiful high ground, abundantly supplied with timber and spring water. By March 1 the work of building was begun according to plans furnished by the secretary of war, Henry Dearborn, afterward a general in the War of 1812, and in his honor the name Fort Dearborn was given.
In August 1807, Gov. Williams asked Col. Jacob Kingsbury, in command at Fort Adams, to station a detachment at Fort Dearborn, because there were strong grounds to suspect an attempt at insurrection by the blacks at Washington and vicinity. Kingsbury sent a guard

On the 18th we still were encamped near the old fort, another cloudy day.

On the 19th we still continued here. Four officers arrested by the patrol at a Brothel.

On the 20th still continued here at the old fort. Hard drilling, rainy morning & cloudy day.

On the 21st still at the old place, rained all night. Sleet in the morning. The coldest weather they have seen here for some time.

On the 22nd the birthday of Washington, a clear pretty morning. Nature seemed to smile on the scene. We moved to Camp Jackson[15] about two miles from the old Fort; a beautiful place.

On the 23rd, a fine day. Nothing to do but fix our encampment.

> Genl Orders- Headquarters
> Camp Jackson
> 24th February 1813
>
> To insure good order in the Camp the Genl orders that the following rules be observed for the policy of the Camp until otherwise ordered:

---

under the command of Lieut. John Bowie. In March, 1808, he asked Kingsbury to put a permanent garrison at Fort Dearborn, because it was a desirable location, because a garrison there would be in the public interest, and because the works must go to ruin in a few years if not occupied. When the army at New Orleans, stricken with fever, was ordered to the town of Washington in 1809, Fort Dearborn came into greater prominence than ever. Gen. Wade Hampton was then in command, with his headquarters there, and Maj. Zebulon Pike was ordered there with all the infantry. Wilkinson returned to command of the Mississippi military district after he had been acquitted by the court martial, and made his headquarters at Baton Rouge or New Orleans. The military at Cantonment Washington were discussing the court martial of Col. Gushing at Baton Rouge in December 1811, when Col. Simonds received orders (Dec. 20) to move to that place, to receive further orders. A hundred men were sent to Natchez to prepare transports. Afterward Cantonment Washington was the scene of organization of the Mississippi regiment, in 1812, under Col. F. L. Claiborne, and thence they marched to Baton Rouge. Here also, other commands of militia were organized for the Creek war, in 1813 and 1814, and the prisoners captured at New Orleans by Jackson were here for a few weeks under guard in 1815.

[15] Just south of this site in 1813, Andrew Jackson established Camp Jackson, an encampment for the 2,070 Tennessee volunteers called to aid in the defense of the Gulf Coast. The men trained here to prepare to meet the enemy in New Orleans. In early March, Jackson received a letter from the War Department ordering him to dismiss his men in the field. Jackson disobeyed the order and borrowed funds to return his men home. That decision and the determination Jackson demonstrated on the return march earned Jackson the nickname “Old Hickory” (as in “tough as an old hickory tree”), a nickname which he later used to win the presidency.

1st The Adjutants are to attend et the Brigade inspection Quarters at 10 o'clock in the morning to receive orders & make their morning reports.

2nd. The Orderly Serjeants are to attend at the adjutants Quarters at eight o'clock to make their reports & half-past ten to receive their orders.

3rd The Reveille is to be at every morning at daybreak when every officer & soldier is to rise parade & stand to his arms until the roll is called.

4th The retreat is to be beat at Sundown when the roll is to be called and absentees reported whether officers or soldiers.

5th The Tattoo is to be beat at 8'oclock P.M. The Serjeant & Corporals to visit their respective squads & report the state thereof.

6th Every Saturday each Capt. will inspect his Company see that all public property committed to his care can be accounted for. If a Soldier loses any part of his equipment, he will immediately charge him therewith reporting the same to his commanding officers.

7th All guards will parade at 10 o'clock in the morning and relieve every 24 hours. The officers & citizens to pass the lines through the day without molestation as well as all waggons engaged in the public service.

8th The officers of the day will go the rounds at least twice each night.

9th The rules & articles of war forbid any officer or private from leaving his post while on guard. If a commissioned officer upon pain of being cashiered. Ifa noncommissioned officer or private of suffering agreeable to the sentence of a court martial.

By order of the Genl Andrew Hines, *aid de camp*

On the 24th nothing of consequence occurred. We had a fine clear day & a little drilling by companies.

On the 25th the 2nd Regt had a parade. A fine day.

On the 26th, we paraded this morning at Reveille. The officers were called to the Genls quarters to drill. After drilling one hour it was moved by Major Carroll that the officers should parade there every morning after

calling the roll at Reveille with his musket to drill one hour. Agreed to unanimously.

> Regimental Orders
>
> At nine o'clock in the morning at a Signal given from the Cols Tent the whole of the companies will turn out to their own music & form dressing with the Stakes as nearly as may be before their tents an interval of at least 16 Feet between them. Each Capt. will exercise his men without paying any regard to what another is doing & continue so for an hour at least. Always dressing by the Stakes which are to serve as Guides. the same exercise will be repeated at three o'clock in the evening and this will be the daily exercise while the troops remain at their present encampment the Signal will be the displaying the Regimental colors from the Colonels tent.
>
> By order of the Col.
>
> Guy Smith, adjt, 2 Reg T.V. Infty
>
> February 26th 1813

We had clear days on the 27 & 28 nothing of importance occurred. We received our blank inspection rolls and orders to prepare for inspection. Fine days.

March 1st, we paraded at the Genls quarters where we got orders from the Genl to have our Companies clean shaved & dressed & ready for parade by nine o'clock on the morrow, with their heads powdered. A fine day.

On the 2nd nothing of importance transpired we were ready for inspection but the U.S, inspector did not come. So, we performed some evolutions that surprised the Spectators. A fine day.

On the 3rd we were inspected by Capt. Holmes, the U.S. Inspector. A fine day. After inspection we were formed into close column. Major Carroll read the Sentence of the Court Martial on Capt. Hewett, who was tried for intemperance & cashiered. Then his 1st Lt. Gambrill was brought forward under guard. He was to be kept from his command for six days & reprimanded by his Colonel. His crime was going to a brothel. Col. Benton addressed him as follows:

> I am sorry to have to address an officer belonging to my regiment on such an occasion as this for an officer to go contrary to orders

> and besides as you have done to go to such a place as under the Hill as it is called. The place where Hell reigns on earth, where the refuse of creation assembles. This, sir, is a thing that pains me to think about & which I never want to talk in public on again.

On the 4th & 5th nothing of importance turned up. We had our two parades & fine days.

On the 6th &7 still times no camp news afloat. Fine clear weather.

On the 8th a sermon from Parson Blackman. After the sermon he addressed us on the Subject of a Bible Society being established in west Tennessee, but soldiers here [are] not the people to give much encouragement to such an institution.

On the 9th nothing out of the common course of things turned up. We had our parades and fine weather.

On the 10th &11th Good weather as usual & still times.

Genl Orders

Method of receiving the grand rounds the officer of the day will visit the several guards during the day as often and at such hours as he judges proper when the sentinel before the guard first discovers the officer of the day he will call the guard to turn out and the guard being paraded on the approach of the officer of the day presents arms by the command of their officer. The officer of the day may then have the roll called and make such examination as he thinks proper. Not only the officer of the day but the Genl is also at liberty to visit the guards and make the same examination. During the night the officer of the day will go the rounds. When the officer of the day arrives at the guard from whence he intends to begin the rounds he will make himself known by giving the countersign to the officer of the guard. He will then order the guard under arms and examine it as he may think proper. He will then demand an escort of a Serjeant & 2 men & proceed to the next post where the rounds are challenged by a sentinel. **The Serjeant answering Grand rounds**. The sentinel will reply Stand grand rounds advance Serjt with the countersign upon which the Serjeant will advance &give the Countersign. The Sentinel will reply advance grand rounds allow them to pass presenting his arms but not suffer anyone to approach in reach of them. When the sentinel before the guard challenges the rounds & is answered grand rounds, he will reply Stand grand Rounds. **Turn out the guard** Upon the Sentinels calling the guard is to be turned out and drawn up in good order with Shouldered arms the officers taking their posts the officer commanding the guard will order a Serjeant and two men to advance towards the rounds and challenge when the Serjeant of the guard comes within 10 paces of the rounds he will halt &challenge briskly the Serjeant of the rounds will answer grand rounds the Serjeant of the guard rounds advance Serjt with the Countersign &order his men to present arms the Serjeant of the rounds will advance alone and giving the countersign returns to his rounds &the Serjeant of the guard calls to his officer the countersign is right on which the officer of the guard call advance grand rounds then advances alone and on his approach the guard presents their arms he will pass along the front of the guard to the officer who keeps his post on the right he will then examine the guard order back his escort & demand a new one & proceed in the same manner to the other guards The foregoing regulations will be copied into the orderly book of each Capt. belonging to the detachment &read at his morning and evening parades for two weeks.

By order of the Major Genl
Andrew Hines aid

Headquarters
Camp Jackson
March 11th 1813

On the 12th & 13 nothing of consequence occurred except a very hard rain which made our tents leak very much.

5. The Order to Disband

On the 14th the Genl received orders to disband his army & return home. He refused to do it until his return to Nashville. He set the 18th day to start on his return march. A hard rainy day.

On the 15th we buried a man belonging to Capt. Renshaw's Co 2 Regt. The 4th man that has died in the detachment since we left home. Had a wet day.

On the 16th about 10 o'clock we were paraded & heard the following Genl Order:

> Fellow Soldiers
>
> Long since the clouds of war hovered around our beloved Country its constituted authorities announced it in danger and invited you to rally round the government of your choice for its support & defence. It was enough for such patriots as you descended from the heroes of the revolution to know that the patrimony procured by the best blood of your fathers was endangered. You, the support of your Country, Voluntarily enlisted yourselves in its defence & tendered your services to the President which were with expressions of gratitude accepted of. Your tender was on the broad basis of your country's will not confined within Constitutional limits. By the orders of Government, war was declared. Your government with your turned to the North. The seat of war ready to mingle your strength with that of your dis- tressed brethren in arms. Your Representative in Congress made known your patriotism to the government. Addressed you as part of his constituents with the eloquence of a Cicero (this your patriotism did not require). Urged you en masse to enroll yourselves under the act of Congress in support of a just necessary & proper war. He pledged himself for your patriotism. Enrolled you have been & only wanted the call of your government. An army was hastily surrendered. A territory lost. Men were wanting. Still you were not called to the field. At length it was said that the inhospitable clime of the lower Mississippi was endangered by threatened invasion the Government called you. Heard there was no clime could damp your ardor. The 10th December 1812 with pleasure will be recollected by every patriotic bosom. You with the Spirits of free men whose rights were invaded bore without a murmur the Snowy blasts. You entered the camp with the order of good citizens. You bore its privations like good soldiers the alacrity with which you entered on the duties of Soldiers foretold to your General that you would soon be prepared for the field. His highest wishes were realized. The wishes of your Genl and your Country. Your uniform good conduct. Your attention to the right of the Citizens through which you have passed has secured to you the plaudits of the citizens of the Country & entitled you to the thanks and esteem of your Genl. He knows if you had met an enemy from your pride your patriotism & attention to

discipline you would have gained Laurels for yourselves & honor to the Country from which you came.

You are now about to return to your country & it remains for to unfold whether you have been treated by the agents of government with that attention your patriotism entitles you to expect and whether you have not been shamefully forgotten by your representative in Congress. Fellow Citizens, in our march we have to pass through a Savage country. Their rights must be respected and notwithstanding your humanity is shocked at the unheard of cruelty & murder of our brethren still it becomes us until we are ordered and Commanded by Government to withhold our hands from vengeance least we might strike the innocent with the guilty and bring disgrace & guilt upon our heads. It is therefore ordered & commanded that neither the persons or property be disturbed by any officer or Soldier under my command while returning through that Country. It is necessary for the safety of the detachment that we march in good order & that the whole detachment remain together until we arrive at Nashville. The order of march will be daily communicated through the brigade Inspector all officers are forbidden to give any furlough or permits to the Soldiers to leave the encampment for a longer time than four hours & they must be accompanied by a Commissioned or noncommissioned officer who will be responsible for their return

so soon as the necessary supplies are received from the Contractors & Quartermasters department. The line of march will be taken up. The Major Genl having pledged himself that he never would abandon one of his men & that he would act the part of a father to them has to repeat that he will not leave one of the Sick nor of the detachment behind. He has led you here, he will lead you back to your country & friends. The sick as far as he has the power & the means shall be made comfortable. If anyone dies, he will pay to them the last tribute of respect. They shall be buried with all the honors of war. Should your General die, he know it is a respect you will pay to him. It is a debt due to every honest & brave soldier of the detachment. The officer of the day will permit the guard to sleep at their fires during the night. Keeping up one watch.

Andrew Jackson
Majr Genl
Headquarters
Camp Jackson
16th March 1813

After the orders were read, we were dismissed until in the evening when we had a Regimental parade but were driven in by the rain.

On the 17th - Last night we had a hard rain insomuch that we could not sleep on account of the wet. We had to wrap ourselves up in our blankets & sat up all night with our feet covered with water. In the morning it was clear but about ten o'clock it began to rain. We had a wet day.

On the 18th, a cloudy morning cleared off about 10 o'clock A.M. fine day.

On the 19th - last night about 12 o'clock, Col Benton had been out patrolling & on his return when he came to the guard, he fired off his gun. The alarm was beat & in less than ten minutes both Regts were under arms. The Genl did not like Col Benton's conduct and gave him a very sharp talk concerning it. Major Carroll mounted his horse without a saddle, bare headed & rode out to see who had caused this flurry. Some of the men thought there was some cause for the alarm but as soon as rightly awake recollected where we were. Today we had a regimental parade. It was a very warm evening. In the morning, we put on our knapsacks & marched to try how they would do.

On the 20th, we marched once more with our knapsacks. It is uncertain when we will start. Some think we will start Sunday, which is tomorrow.[16] Indeed, the Genl says so but I don't think we will as we can't get waggons.

On the 21st - This is the morning we allowed to start but have again failed. Don't know when we will get off. A clear day.

On the 22nd nothing particular happened. Another fine day.

On the 23rd - Another balk about starting. Several waggons coming in; looks a good like we will get off soon. A good many Spectators to see us muster. Several Ladies among them. All were astonished to see our performance as we beat any regular troops they have had among them.

On the 24th - Called up & formed a solid column & heard a Genl order read. We take up our march for home in the morning.

[16] March 21, 1813, was, in fact, a Sunday, as noted in this Journal.

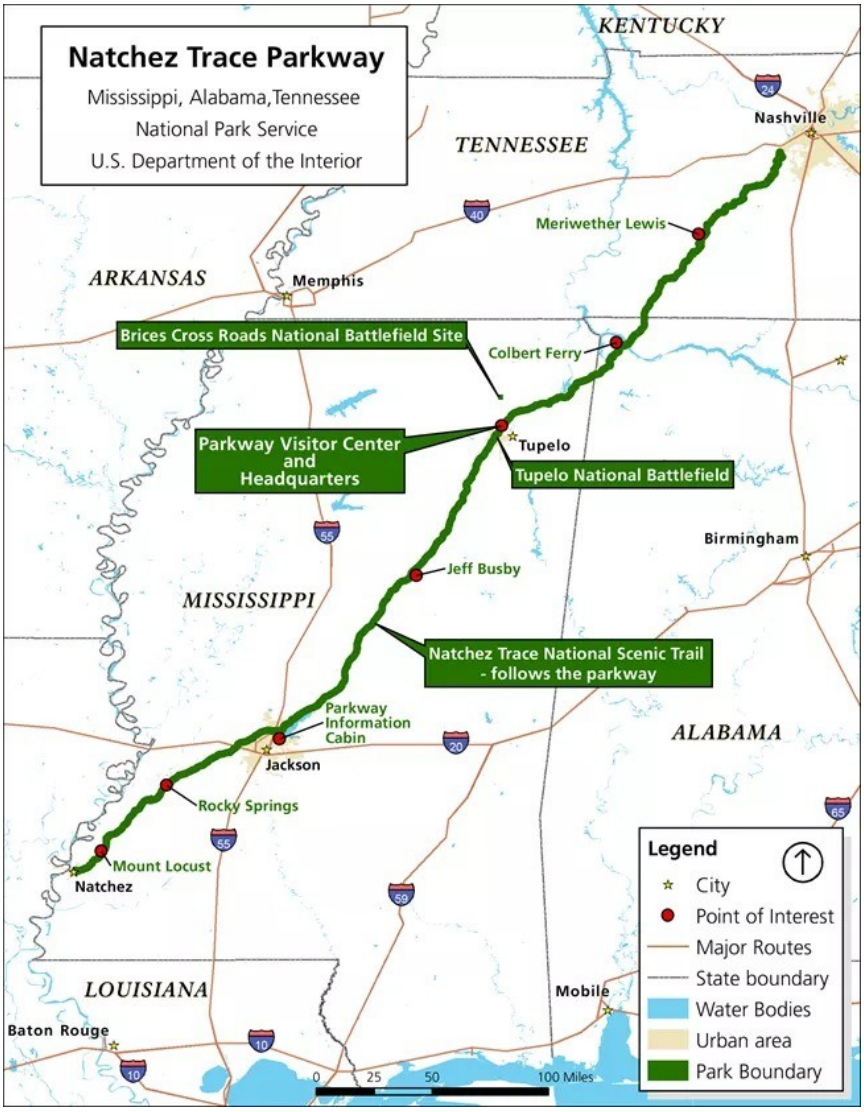
6. Home to Tennessee

On the 25th - about noon we started for home. Some dissatisfied at our having to go home without doing something for our Country besides eating her rations. Others glad to hear the news to return home came on & encamped at Sulser Town six miles from Washington.[17] Several of our men unwell one I don't think will recover. A cloudy day.

On the 26th - Started early passed Union Town six miles from Sulser Town. Camped near Greenville Six miles from Union Town. Today the waggon that carried our baggage broke down they had to get a new axle tree after we had encamped our waggon came up. One of our men is so bad that they talk of leaving him in Greenville until he recovers if he has the good fortune to recover. Serjt Gooch is to stay to nurse him. Several men giving out. Today it is so hot.

On the 27th – started early. Left our sick man Hugh. The Genl gave Gooch money to buy any little necessary he might want and ordered the man where he was left to supply him with anything he might need & also supply him with money to take him and he would be accountable for it. We encamped twenty miles from Greenville. A fine day.

[17] It is very likely the Volunteers followed the Natchez Trace Trail (or that is what this path now is known as). The place names in the below correspond to various points on the trail that connects Natchez, MS to Nashville, TN. See this link.



On the 28th, an early start about 8 o'clock this morning. We had a heavy rain for an hour. Very hard. The mud up to our knees as we marched along. Some falling down. The others laughing at them which would have caused anyone to laugh heartily to look at us in the mud on the banks of a creek. Encamped at Bayou Pierre. Waded the Stream. Our Col at our head water waist deep.

On the 29th, started early. Came on & encamped at the Choctaw line. Had a fine day & our road passed over high pine ridges.

On the 30th, Started and came on and encamped on Lensioners Creek. Fine road & fine day. Some of our oxen gave out today on account of the heat in the barrens.

On the 31st, Started early about noon passed Baker's Creek which took its name from a robbery on its bank. Baker was on his way from Natchez where he had gone with produce for sale & was on his way home with the proceeds of his trip. Stopped his horse on the bank. Went down to the water to get a drink. When Mason the great robber rushed (out) of the thicket with his comrades & led off his horse with $2500 on his back & would not let poor Baker have enough to bear his expenses home to Tennessee, but took his horse & money & left him to shift for himself. Fine day.

On the 1st April, Started early came on and encamped at the Choctaw agency. Dismissed more teams today had a fine day. The Indians are encamped here to receive their annuities. Were going to have a big ball play. Our passing stopped them but there are a great many Indians here. We are one hundred & twenty miles from Natchez. We have been eight days coming it.

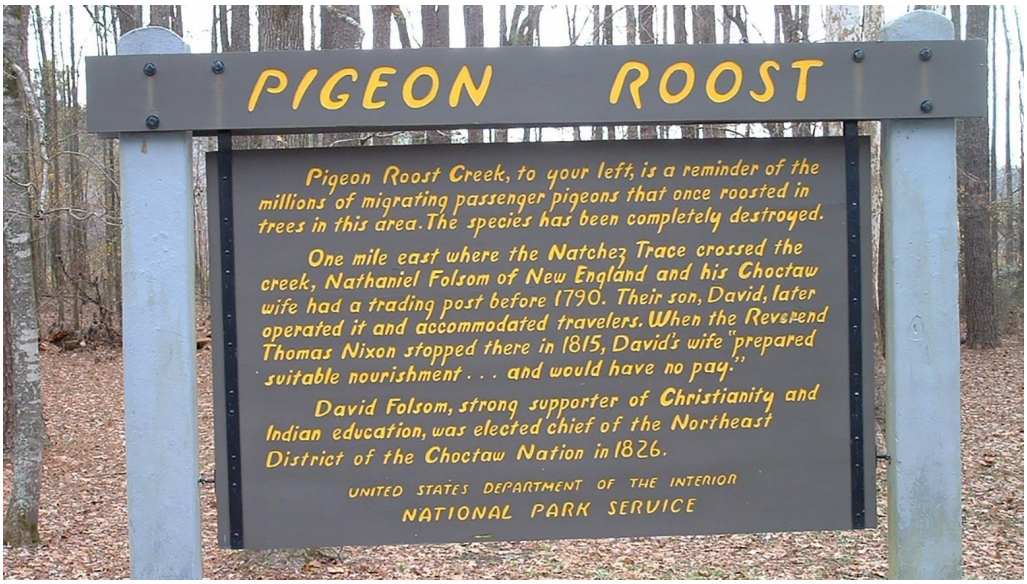
On the 2nd, Marched hard all day & encamped at Wards. This place looks more like living than any place I have seen since we left the Grindstone Ford on the big Bayou Pierre. A fine day.

On the 3rd, my birthday. Just 20 years old today. Started early came on three miles past McRamey. We saw a great many Indians going to the ball play. They play for six thousand dollars. Passed several Indian graves they have several poles four short ones & two long ones. Have steps made for the Indians to climb up to Heaven. two were sitting by the grave crying & paid no attention to us no more than if we had not been there. There were several more setting about that appeared no more concerned than if nothing was the matter. A fine day.

On the 4th today we came (to where) the water runs east today. Yesterday it ran west. The waters of the Mississippi. Today the waters of Pearl. A fine day. Just beginning to come to the Swamps.

On the 5th started early came on some miles past Shoals got beeves from Shoat for today's rations

On the 6th this morning came on to Lafleurs, an old Frenchman with an Indian wife.[18] Got some beeves from him came on and camped three miles from Lafleurs, twenty miles from Pigeon Roost. A fine day.


PIGEON ROOST
Pigeon Roost Creek, to your left, is a reminder of the millions of migrating passenger pigeons that once roosted in trees in this area. The species has been completely destroyed.
One mile east where the Natchez Trace crossed the creek, Nathaniel Folsom of New England and his Choctaw wife had a trading post before 1790. Their son, David, later operated it and accommodated travelers. When the Reverend Thomas Nixon stopped there in 1815, David's wife "prepared suitable nourishment . . . and would have no pay."
David Folsom, strong supporter of Christianity and Indian education, was elected chief of the Northeast District of the Choctaw Nation in 1826.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

On the 7th made an early start & about 10 o'clock came to one of the Byr Wyr swamps. There was one waggon mired down so we had to strip off & drag her out. About 4 miles further came to the other Bye Wy. Got over without difficulty. A fine day. Camped [with]in 7 miles of the Pigeon Roost.

On the 8th started & passed Pigeon Roost swamp. The half way ground between Natchez & Nashville. Came on one mile across the line which is thirteen miles from the Pigeon Roost to where we are encamped. Another

---

[18] Nathaniel Folsom was born 17 May 1756 in Rowan County, North Carolina to Israel Folsom and Mary (Chambers) Folsom. The family left that state living in Georgia for a time where young Nathaniel received some formal schooling, learning to read and write. About 1775 the father again moved his family, this time to the southwest, reaching the area which was home to the First People known as Choctaw.
Pigeon Roost. As the years progressed Nathaniel began to operate a “stand” along the Natchez Trace near Pigeon Roost (modern Mathiston, Choctaw County, Mississippi). The trading post began about 1790, expanded through 1803, and continued until the Mississippi Riverboats captured the market for the movement of people and freight, which all but stopped traffic on the old thoroughfare. ”The White Citizen, Nathanel Folsom, also entertained numerous travelers; …there were scarcely five days in the year when he failed to have guests…” Angie Debo – The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic.
Redstick Rebellion/The Creek War
During the period of the War of 1812 Nathaniel and his sons Daniel and Nathaniel, brother Edmond, and several nephews were part of McKee’s Command in the campaign also known as The Creek War.[8]

fine day & fine road. Vegetation more backward here now than it was at Camp Jackson fifteen days ago.

On the 9th started early. Made a bad day's travel on account of the swamps & creeks we had to
cross &bridges we had to make. A fine day. Encamped fourteen miles from the Chickasaw agency.

On the 10th made an early (start). Came to the agents before we stopped for breakfast. Passed some old fields. After breakfast we started and passed Jas. Colbert's eight miles from the Agency. Had a heavy rain. Came one-mile past Colbert's. Made 23 miles today.

On the 11th started early & about 3 o'clock came to the Chickasaw Old Town. This has been a great Town in early times there has been about 1,000 houses here. This is once 5,000 acres that have been cultivated by this people. A great battle was fought here between the Chickasaws & Creeks. We passed near the battle ground there is one family that lives here yet. We came on & encamped having made 23 miles today.

On the 12th made an early start. Came on and took a swamp the first thing & hardly had anything else all day. About 10 o'clock came to a swamp that took an hour to go 1/4 of a mile & was nearly waist deep all the way. Crossed twenty-mile creek & encamped [with]in three miles of Brown's Swamp, having made 20 miles today. Fine day.

On the 13th, made an early start. Came to Brown Swamp. Took two hours to get through. Came about 18 miles & camped last night. Had a heavy rain but a fine day today.

On the 14th we started came on to good spring 8 miles & to bear creek. 10 miles further by 11 o'clock crossed by 3 o'clock. Started on passed the Buzzard Roost which is 5 miles further. Came on by Levi Colbert's & Camped about 2 miles from Colbert's making in all 25 miles today. Last night there fell as heavy shower of Hail & rain that ever fell upon poor Soldiers in the world. A clear cool day.

On the 15th we made an early start came on & got to the Tennessee river five miles from last night's encampment. Crossed the Tennessee River. 2nd Regt came over first and came on about one mile & stopped until the

1Regt could get over. While we were stopped one of our men was bit by a rattlesnake, though it don't look like it would hurt him much. We started and came five miles from the river making ten miles today.

On the 16th started early & stopped at 12 o'clock for breakfast. Major Carroll went on to Columbia to fix the pay rolls. By the time the detachment would get there where the 2 Regt is to be discharged. Came 23 miles. A fine day.

On the 17th made a bad start. Came on. Got breakfast at Young factors. Had a fine day. Made about 18 miles today.

On the 18th started early came to Little Buffaloe. Crossed Big Buffaloe. Came on. Got breakfast at Grinders. Saw Governor Lewis' Grave[19]. The Indian line is about ten steps [from] Grinder’s door. Came 23 miles today & camped near old man Rhodes's. There we saw the first white woman we had seen for some time. They looked nice after being so long among the savages.

On the 19th, came on & camped near Columbia & on the 20th were mustered out of service by Major Carrol. Received our discharge & started for home & paid for all our troubles by meeting our friends once more. This was my first trip from home.

[19] Meriwether Lewis, explorer and leader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition who later became governor of the Louisiana Territory. The Meriwether Lewis Death and Burial Site is located on the Natchez Trace Parkway at mile marker 385.9 near the intersection of Highway 20 and the Natchez Trace Parkway in Lewis County, Tennessee. The site is located near Hohenwald, TN @ 35.507265, -87.459835

Memoir of the Creek War

By Andrew Jackson Edmondson Ensign,
Tennessee Volunteers

7. Note of Andrew Jackson Edmondson

Marshall Co, Mississippi
3rd Nov. 1858

At the request of my children who I hope if the necessity should ever call it forth will be as willing as I was to step forth at the Call of our country to its defence. [And to] suffer and endure all that is necessary for its safety. [And] my daughters, may they always have the same warm love for it that warmed the bosom of my dear old mother[20] who was one to endure any privation for her country that she was called on to do. And she was frequently placed in very critical positions but thank the good one she was always equal to any demand made on her patience and patriotism. Well do I remember her lectures to me her youngest when I first left home for the tented field my father who was a cripple in the arm from the effects of a wound from an Indian before I was born was equally willing and ever encouraged me to volunteer in the Service of my Country. And after our return from our first Campaign, [she] was equally anxious for me again to mount my knapsack for another tour. But, in fact, theirs was not an uncommon feeling for in all our country if one individual had any other feeling about the war and our duty they said but little about it as they felt they would be sadly in the minority. And out of sixty fine young men that were under 21 years of age at the time we started on our Campaign to Natchez & belonging to the same militia company with myself, but three were left at home. [And] then was the time our young ladies shewed the true feelings of backwoods American women. Not one of them would permit these young men to wait on them at church preferring to get their own horses. As all that did not walk went to Church on horseback & in fact as long as we all remained in the same neighborhood they were treated with indifference by the girls. And if any one of them except one ever married, I have not known it. But to the commencement of my journal of my last two campaigns I will give a detailed & particular

[20] Isabella Buchanan Edmondson (1761-1816)

account which I will vouch for being correct except as to dates for all are as firmly fixed in my mind as the transactions of yesterday.

8. Background to the Campaign of 1813 (Creek War)

After the massacre at Fort Mims[21] our country was in a fever of excitement until our army was put in motion as Genl Jackson was very anxious to have an army early in the field that were well disciplined. He called on the old Volunteers to assemble at Fayetteville on the 4th October (1813)[22] to march into the Creek Nation & although we all felt that we had been discharged from our first engagement, all were again anxious to go against the Indians.[23]

As for myself, I wished to go on horseback. Together with Capt. McCutcheon, we proposed to raise a company of mounted men. As I was acquainted with the old Genl, I was sent by the Capt. to see if he would receive us if we organized. I went to headquarters. In my interview with him, [General Andrew Jackson] prevailed on me to withdraw from the horse company and continue with the old Company. As several of the boys had joined the new Company with me, he said it was so important for us all to go together as we were already in a situation for active service and that our time would expire on the 10th Dec[ember], twelve

---

[21] The Fort Mims massacre took place on August 30, 1813, at a fortified homestead site 35-40 miles north of Mobile, Alabama, during the Creek War. A large force of Creek Indians belonging to the Red Sticks faction, under the command of headmen Peter McQueen and William Weatherford (also known as Lamochattee or Red Eagle), stormed the fort and defeated the militia garrison. Afterward, the Red Sticks conducted a massacre, killing almost all the remaining mixed Creek, white settlers, and militia at Fort Mims. They took nearly 100 enslaved African Americans as captives. The small fort consisted of a blockhouse and stockade surrounding the house and outbuildings of settler Samuel Mims.

[22] After returning to Nashville, Jackson and one of his colonels, John Coffee, got into a street brawl over honor with the brothers Jesse and Thomas Hart Benton. Nobody was killed, but Jackson received a gunshot in the shoulder that nearly killed him. Jackson had not fully recovered from his wounds when Governor Willie Blount called out the militia in September 1813 following the August Fort Mims Massacre. The Red Sticks, a confederate faction that had allied with Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief who was fighting with the British against the United States, killed about 250 militia men and civilians at Fort Mims in retaliation for an ambush by American militia at Burnt Corn Creek. Jackson's objective was to destroy the Red Sticks. He headed south from Fayetteville, Tennessee, in October with 2,500 militia, establishing Fort Strother as his supply base. He sent his cavalry under General Coffee ahead of the main force, destroying Red Stick villages and capturing supplies. Coffee defeated a band of Red Sticks at the Battle of Tallushatchee on November 3, and Jackson defeated another band later that month at the Battle of Talladega.

[23] The Volunteers had initially mustered in December 1812 for a one-year enlistment. They had been disbanded in April 1813 as conveyed previously in this Journal. With the attack at Fort Mims, the Volunteers were reorganized and a key issue was whether they were serving the remainder of their prior service term or whether a new mustering was commencing in the Autumn of 1813 (for another full year’s duty).

months after we had been [initially] mustered into service. [The General said] that he was corresponding with Mr. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, and hoped to be able to get pay for the time we had been at home. With this assurance I went home & prevailed on the boys to quit the horse Company & go in the old Company.[24]

As there was a good deal of dissatisfaction, not as to going but going under the old engagement, it was a very difficult undertaking to get all to agree. And after our Company had taken up the line of March, every officer pledged himself to march with them [and to be home by] the 10th Dec [1813]. And with this pledge all were Satisfied.

I make this Statement to satisfy my children in relation to my subsequent conduct when that time arrived. But I will say further I have no doubt that the Genl fully intended to perform what he then said,[25] but from his situation he could not comply owing to no fault of his own but from the misconduct of others that he could not control - he was forced to act differently (the following underlined passage is written and struck through) <u>& to take the ground that our time was not out at the time he had told me & some of his officers & himself were placed in antagonism that they carried to their graves</u>. If I had one of the old discharges it would satisfy my Children that I am correct.[26]

But to commence [with the narrative of our expedition]:

[24] This narrative seems to confirm that the Volunteers, at least in this Regiment, felt that they were serving out their initial terms commenced in December 1812 and that General Andrew Jackson actively agreed with this interpretation.
[25] i.e., to honor the commitment to discharge the Volunteers in December 1813.
[26] It seems AJE's children had some doubt that their father's version of events was not the full story.

9. The Campaign of 1813-1814

As soon as the army were organised & we could get transportation, we started for the Nation. All the country south of the Tennessee line was in a constant fever of excitement [with] expresses daily coming to Headquarters.

Indians. Indians were just going to break into the Settlement & murder them all. Huntsville had been burned two or three times before we left Fayetteville. We started from there about 10 o'clock A.M. on a clear day and marched by about 4 o'clock P.M. to where the road from Fayetteville to Huntsville crosses Flint river and were preparing to camp for the night when an express galloped into camp with a letter from Huntsville stating if we did not get there that night Huntsville would be in ashes. The old Genl made the news known to the army and asked them could they go on. All said go. We started again and got to Huntsville about 10 o'clock at night and every soul that was in Huntsville I expect was sound asleep but the dogs welcomed us, for there was a plenty noise made by them to almost wake the dead, but if there was an Indian in fifty miles of Huntsville it was a friendly one. We must have met fifty families that day. Some never stopped as I was told until they got to the old settled part of Tennessee.

On the next morning my feet were so swelled that I could not get in my shoes. My heels & toes so blistered & sore that I could hardly bear to put them to the ground. In fact I was as completely foundered as ever I saw a horse but had to hobble along the best way I could. As I said before it was dry & dusty. Our company march in front but in looking back on the line the dust rose higher than the tops of the trees & from the dust & sweat I met some of my comrades & they were so covered that I did not know them until they spoke. We crossed [the] Tennessee river at _____ Landing and went up the river a mile or two & camped at what we called Coffee's Bluff where we remained several days waiting for Genl Coffee who had crossed his Brigade at the Muscle Shoals & gone to some town at the head of the black warrior. When we first camped at the Bluff we had pretty weather but before we left there it rained & turned cold. We had no tents and were badly put to it when the rain came on. Col. Sitler who was on the Genl staff & acting as adjutant Genl came to our camp in the rain & took me (to) one side and told me to select three men from the Regt men that I was willing to risk my life with & when I had selected them to report

myself at headquarters. I selected them out of our Company. I took two. Edmund Owen, a school mate & W Mattheny, and a man belonging to Capt. Moore's Company named Jones & reported to Littler. He took me to the line of sentinels & pretty nearly scared me to death he came so near convincing me that I was being placed in a perilous position. He then gave me the Countersign & watchword & started me. My orders were to take the path he put me on & keep it until I came to a fork & then to sit down & if not disturbed to remain there until day light. If attacked I was to defend myself until overpowered, then make for camp giving the alarm.

While I felt proud of the distinction so placed, I would have felt much better at the fire of the Company. We were placed on ground to which we were perfect strangers & from the noise about Indians made by the people of Madison County, we looked for an Indian behind every bush. It was dark when we left the lines & we all thought we had traveled three miles, but [in fact we had not travelled] more than one before we came to a plain fork & there we sat down & staid until daylight without speaking only in a whisper. I had no disposition to sleep but let the men sleep as much as they wished. This I think though in October (was) the longest night I ever passed. It cleared off in the night and a keen north wind made our wet clothes fit tolerable close but nothing but the cold interrupted us. We returned to camp at daylight & reported to Headquarters no interruption to our watch & were dismissed. After Genl Coffee joined us, we took up our line of march for the enemies' country.

On the 2nd day, reached Fort Deposit on the Tennessee river where we staid several days waiting for provisions and some of our men who had not been quite ready to start when we left home & as we expected to need them when we get into the Creek Country, we waited for them to come up which they accordingly done. Here the Genl began to feel that the contractors would disappoint him about provisions & tried to have some other arrangements made for our subsistence. How far he succeeded I never knew, but this much I do know, that after we left Fort Deposit, we never had a regular ration for two days together until the 10th of Dec [1813], at which time we expected to start home.

After leaving Deposit, nothing worth mentioning happened until we crossed Ratliff's Mountain at Wills Creek in Wills Valley. One of our men on his post as Sentinel killed an Indian who was trying to see our camp. He

was laughed a t a good deal. Some said he had shot a coon as a good many times we had false alarms. But in the morning he took them to the place they found blood & directly found where a body had been dragged some hundred & fifty yards and covered up beside a log so that [by the] time it was found to be all right. No doubt the Indians reconnoiter our Camp nearly every night watching our movements. The next night after Baldridge killed the Indian, we had a regular alarm. Some seven guns fired by the sentinels on one line. Our orders were to fall into the rear of our fires twenty paces & form our line and remain there until regularly dismissed. While in that situation one of our men stepped off and discovered one of our parsons standing in close to the other side of a tree as he (could) get and apparently paralyzed & it was a difficult matter to get him to speak.

10. Deserters

The morning we left here, Genl Coffee was sent to a hostile town with his horsemen & a few infantry, among whom was Capt. Williamson, my Captain. We marched on & camped at what we called the dry camp & there waited for Genl Coffee to join us before we went any farther. While waiting for Coffee they tried a man for desertion he was found guilty & sentenced to be shot. The army were drawn out to see this done. His funeral was preached. Twelve men detailed to shoot him. Six ordered to the front. The word given. “Make ready”. “Take aim”. When one of the Genls staff handed the adjutant Genl a paper. The men [were] ordered to return to a shoulder [arms]. The adjutant looked at the paper & read it & behold it was a reprieve. The first word the man said after hearing it was [said] God bless my Genl & more than this. He had been before this a disrespected quarrelsome man but this completely reformed him. He made a good & worthy member of society & lived & made a fine estate, but as our Genl has been censured for having men shot under his command, in the Genl order reprieving this man he stated it was the last time he would interfere to stop the judgement of a Court Martial and far as he was concerned their verdict should be final. The next two were Harris & Woods. They both suffered the penalty of the law.

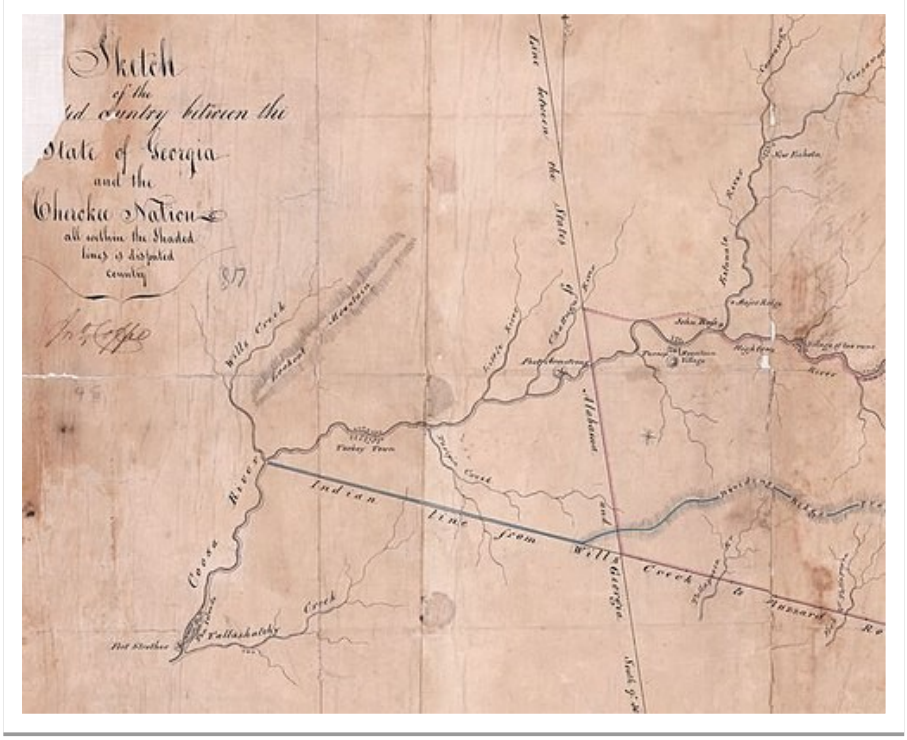
That same evening that the prisoner was liberated, Genl Coffee returned with the Celebrated Bob Catawba & a number of other prisoners who were sent to Nashville under a proper Guard and the Army moved on into the enemies Country all looking every day for a fight. Genl Coffee & his

mounted men were kept moving. And on the 3rd Nov, a cold frosty morning, the Genl detailed 500 of Hall's Brigade to march to the Ten Islands to reinforce Genl Coffee who had been sent to the Talleyhatchie Town, some 15 miles from the Ten Islands to destroy it so we could be ready if he needed a reinforcement to assist him. We lay on the bank of the river till we were nearly froze. Our old Colonel Martin, who commanded the detachment, was an old Indian fighter determined to cross the river & go on towards the point where we expected to find Coffee. As we were footmen, we had to wade the river. I thought it was a quarter of a mile wide, cold, swift & shoaly. We got over & soon made ourselves warm by walking. After going a short distance, we met an express from Genl Coffee asking us to hurry on to meet him as he had had a pretty sharp brush. Had some prisoners & a good many wounded. We went on but failed to meet him as he took a different route from the one he went out [on], so we missed him & just after dark got to the battle ground where we encamped all night. But none of us slept, for our old Col. was not the man to be caught napping & was a strict disciplinarian.

11. Fort Strother

The main army moved to what was afterward Fort Strother,[27] where Genl Coffee joined them the night after the battle & we lay on the battle ground. There we found several Indian children whose mothers were killed. One little fellow was tugging at his mother's breast & her stiff & cold. These things could not be helped as the warriors had their families with them. Consequently, the women and children were liable to be killed. Two of these children we carried to Headquarters. One of them Genl Jackson raised & he died about the time he was grown & the other was raised by Doctor Shelby. I saw him in 1832 in the Creek Nation. After the treaty he went home for the sake of his land & was a poor drunken creature although he had a pretty good education.

[27] Fort Strother was a stockade fort at Ten Islands in the Mississippi Territory, in what is today St. Clair County, Alabama. It was located on a bluff of the Coosa River, near the modern Neely Henry Dam in Ragland, Alabama. The fort was built by General Andrew Jackson and several thousand militiamen in November 1813, during the Creek War and was named for Captain John Strother, Jackson's chief cartographer. 33°45′49″N, 86°02′51″W


Sketch
of the
Country between the
State of Georgia
and the
Cherokee Nation
all within the Shaded
lines is disputed
Country
Wills Creek
Coosa River
Indian line from Wills Creek to Georgia
Creek
Hightowers
Turkey Town
Alabama
Tallashatchy
Creek
Coosa
Line between the States
Chattahoochee River
Chestatee River
Hightowers
Creek
Path

12. The March to Talladega

On our march to headquarters, we burned several houses & got our knapsacks full of corn but after wading Coosa a guard on the opposite bank made us empty our knapsacks to divide with our comrades who had not had an opportunity of getting any. As to rations, they were not there. We were like the fellow's horse, learning pretty well to do without them. Out of 25 fine ears I brought to camp, I got 1 and 1/2. We remained at Fort Strother until Sunday evening, the 7th [of November], when an old man that had been raised in the Nation named Quarles & a friendly Chief named Chinmibby came from a friendly Fort of Creeks at Talladega, telling the Genl that the friendly Indians were besieged by a large force of the hostiles & had obtained from them the promise that they would not interrupt them. If at the end of three days they were not relieved by Genl Jackson, they would surrender under this agreement. These two men somehow managed to leave the fort though surrounded by the hostiles and gave our Genl the information. We made all our arrangements and were off for Talladega about 1 P.M.

We had drawn a little poor beef some of the men having killed an Indian cow, some
where in the neighborhood of the Fort, we left a few men at the Fort to take care of what stores were left. Most of the Infantry waded the river, though some of us rode behind the horsemen. I recollect I had a little piece of meat, about two ounces. When we stopped about 10 O'clock, for those who had it to eat a little, I took out my meat and took a small mouthful of it. And as I had also a little piece of bread, I took a little of it too. Then I looked at it & put it back in my knapsack for some other time.

Some of the boys had nothing and, consequently, just looked on. We camped that night
on a creek near Jim Fife's, a friendly Indian, and got an ear of corn each for our ration & those that were not detailed for duty tried to sleep. And that, I believe, is all the
time which I was in service that I shirked from my duty. I knew it was pretty near
my time for guard and when the adjutant who I was well acquainted with started out to hunt his officer for the guard, he approached me I began to roll & tumble as if I had the cholic. He passed on. We had marched hard all day & had not slept the night before & I was tired & finessed that one

time to get a little rest. I felt so mean about it that I apologized to the adjutant after the battle was over & told him to pay me by putting me on extra duty. Worse than all he had no notion of putting me on guard & I had confessed the only shabby trick of that kind I done while in the Service. One more evidence [that] a guilty conscience need no accuser.

13. The Battle of Talladega

We were again on the march at two o'clock and a little after sun rise were in sight of the enemy when we formed the line of battle and were ordered to throw off our knapsacks. I took out my little piece of meat & bread & said to the boys, "None of you shall have my meat if I am killed" & I ate it up. After the battle was ended, I was more hungry than I ever was in my life.

Never will I forget my feelings when I raised my gun to fire the first time I ever leveled it at a human being. I had heard my father say his first effort he could not get his gun to his shoulder for trembling. I drew mine up & I thought took pretty fair aim. I turned to one of the boys & said I am a heap better soldier than father, but this was a mistake, for there were few better than him. I laughed & told him about it when I got home [and] it pleased him very much.

After the Indians got out of our square & broke for the hills while we were pursuing them, Col. Pillow[28] who commanded our Regt (Col. Benton

---

[28] **COLONEL WILLIAM PILLOW**

- **DESIGNATION:** 2nd Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Infantry
- **DATES:** September 1813 - December 1813
- **MEN MOSTLY FROM:** Rutherford, White, Williamson, Davidson, Franklin, Lincoln, and Maury Counties
- **CAPTAINS:** John H. Anderson, George Caperton, (Lt.)Joseph Mason, C.E. McEwen, James McFerrin, William Moore, Isiah Renshaw, William J. Smith, Thomas Williamson

BRIEF HISTORY:
This regiment, composed of about 400 men, participated in Jackson's first campaign into Creek territory along with the regiment under Colonel Bradley. Both these regiments fought at the Battle of Talladega (9 November 1813) where Colonel Pillow was wounded. An anecdote concerning Pillow at Talladega claimed that Jackson ordered the colonel to fall back once the Creeks attacked, but Pillow refused on the grounds that he would not let his wounded men be "scalped by the demons." Lieutenant Colonel William Martin, who took over the regiment after Pillow was wounded at Talladega, was later at the center of a dispute with Andrew Jackson over the enlistment terms of the regiment.

The line of march would have taken these men from Fayetteville to Huntsville and on to Fort Strother, where the regiment was stationed after the Battle of Talladega.

having gone into the Regular Army)[29] tried to honor my gun saying he wanted to shoot an Indian just over the rise. I told him I could not spare it just at that time but he found someone more liberal than me who gave up his. But instead of the Col. shooting the Indian, he severely wounded him, and nothing but his starved situation saved his life, as he was shot in the abdomen just below the navel. There were 18 of us killed & some three hundred Indians were followed about 3 miles when the drum called us back. I expect when we started back to where the battle commenced as the Indians had run in every direction. The extremes were five miles apart. After going to where we formed our line of battle near the friendly fort and encamped near it but had nothing to eat. I gave an old squaw a fine new silk handkerchief for a gallon of corn. This we boiled & had a fine mess of soup without any grease or salt. We buried our dead all in one grave.

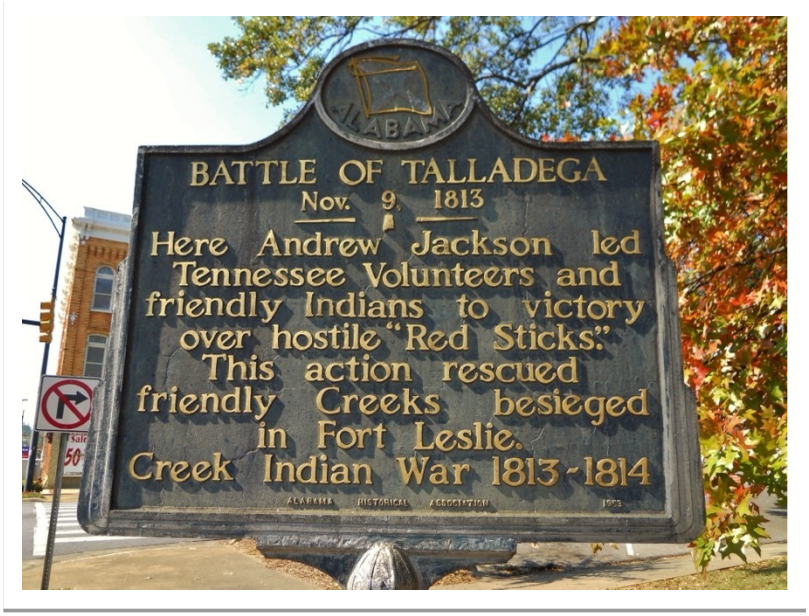
This is likely John Pillow who lived on Little Bigby three miles south of Columbia, Tennessee. John Pillow was father to one of the most incompetent and infamous generals in American history: Gideon J. Pillow. Gideon Pillow is infamous for his contribution to the fall of Fort Donelson in the US Civil War.

[29] **COLONEL THOMAS BENTON**

- **DESIGNATION:** 2nd Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Infantry
- **DATES:** December 1812 - April 1813
- **MEN MOSTLY FROM:** Williamson, Rutherford, White, Bedford, Davidson, Franklin, Lincoln, and Maury Counties
- **CAPTAINS:** Robert Cannon, George Caperton, George Gibbs, Benjamin Hewett, James McEwen, James McFerrin, William Moore, Isiah Renshaw, Benjamin Reynolds, William J. Smith, Thomas Williamson

BRIEF HISTORY:

This regiment, along with Colonel William Hall's First Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Infantry and Colonel John Coffee's Volunteer Cavalry, comprised the army under Andrew Jackson that undertook the expedition to Natchez in late 1812. **Many of these men re-enlisted in September 1813 and were then put under the command of Colonel William Pillow, maintaining the same designation of the Second Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Infantry**.


BATTLE OF TALLADEGA
Nov. 9, 1813
Here Andrew Jackson led Tennessee Volunteers and friendly Indians to victory over hostile "Red Sticks." This action rescued friendly Creeks besieged in Fort Leslie.
Creek Indian War 1813-1814

The next morning, one of the Catawba's was up in a tree looking to see what we were doing. [This Indian] was discovered by one of the soldiers and made come down & given up to the friendly Chiefs. [He was] taken outside of the lines & two of the Chiefs shot him after making him kneel down & ran for his hair. It was young Chinnubby, a Creek, and Jim Brown, a Cherokee. Brown struck him first & got his hair which I saw him carrying as a trophy singing his song of Victory.

14. Almost a Mutiny

Next morning, [30] we started back to Fort Strother on account of want of provisions.[31] We were compelled to this course which we all regretted, though we fully expected to find provisions when we got back to the Fort, but were sadly disappointed. Some wagons had got there, but in place of having bacon & flour, were loaded with whiskey and coffee. The whiskey we did not get but what little coffee there was was divided among us: starving men have but little feeling for others. All came pretty near faring alike but our Genl, though faring as the others, had to bear the blame of our starving. And although I never saw any necessity for eating raw hides, particularly when we could get beech nuts & acorns (though I have

[30] November 11, 1813

[31] Fort Strother was a stockade fort at Ten Islands in the Mississippi Territory, in what is today St. Clair County, Alabama. It was located on a bluff of the Coosa River, near the modern Neely Henry Dam in Ragland, Alabama. The fort was built by General Andrew Jackson and several thousand militiamen in November 1813, during the Creek War and was named for Captain John Strother, Jackson's chief cartographer.

no doubt some of them done it), still I thought it was only to have a chance to talk about afterwards. The Genl promised us if the provisions did not come by a certain day, we should start to meet them.[32]

As they did not come to the day of [what was promised], we started, leaving a few men to guard the Fort, & just as we crossed Coosa Mountain, [we] met a wagon load of flour. One barrel had rolled out behind and burst, just as I passed. I think I ate a quart of dry flour before the commissary could stop me. I then drew ten quarts of flour & my two mess mates got a quart each & we three ate it all up by the next night. Then we got some beef but had no bread to eat with it.

We met the beeves at Canoe Creek & halted to go back to the Fort. Here was the place that our Genl headed. [He met] the men that were not willing to go back [to the Fort] and drove them back [to the Fort]. They had started for home instead of for provisions, but were turned back by the Genl. A good many of them, however, deserted that night. They had lost all self-respect. They had been so starved. The rest of us returned to the Fort where we stayed. Sometimes getting something to eat but oftener nothing. [And] without anything of importance happening until the 9th night of December, except the men putting aside a portion of their irregular allowance for to carry them home on the 10th as they had no doubt of getting their discharge on that day. Not a whisper of any other course being pursued towards them entered their minds. I had been up at the quarters of old Col. Martin[33] who commanded our regiment after the battle of Talladega (as Col. Pillow had gone home on account of his wound) telling him what the men expected on the 11th & what the Company officers had promised them when we started from home & what I felt it my duty to do under the circumstances. He told me to go back to the Company & keep still. He professed a great friendship for me & although no one had any right to say all would not go off right, still it seemed as if a dark cloud hung over us & no one could give a reason for the feeling. I had to go back past headquarters to get home. As I passed the Artillery they were parading. I asked Lieut. Allen what it meant. He said they were ordered to parade & march to the bridge above the Fort on the road home. If we started for home, I asked him what he would do. He said he would shoot us as quick as he would a Red Stick by which he meant hostile Indians. I told him we did not intend to go until we could go

[32] i.e., that they would march to the supplies instead of just waiting for them to arrive.
[33] This appears to be on 9 December 1813.

right, but if so happened that we did & he attempted what he said, his hide would not hold Black-Jack brush.[34] If he only raised his match to fire his gun, he never would fire it. We have laughed it over frequently at Old Pontotoc. I left them and started to the lines and met a Serjt & file of men with our Orderly. I asked what it meant. Our Orderly said Old Hickory had got him.

When I got to the line, the Regmt had been ordered to Parade & our Company had taken up the notion they were to be deprived of their arms. These they had determined to never surrender. I tried & did persuade them not to load their guns. Our regiments were formed into line. Cpt. Caperton on the right & here the old Genl proved (the following underlined passage was written but later struck through) <u>that he was not to be caught napping</u>. Himself [was] wide awake to all our camp talk. [He] walked with his Staff to the head of the Rgt [and] asked “whose Company is this?” Answered “Caperton’s.” Then he told them the character they had abroad and at home. Told the troubles & difficulties he had had to contend with & how anxious he was to maintain the ground he occupied and how impossible it would be unless we would stay with him until he could get reinforcements. Then made this proposition: For those that were willing to stay with him [should] come to a shoulder [arms] & those that were determined on going home to remain [as they were]. At an order, thirteen remained [without shouldering arms]. "Take them fellows under guard” says [the] Genl promptly. “Stop. Genl, [they said]. Give that order again, we did not understand you.” The order was repeated. All [then] came to a shoulder [arms] & were sent to their tents. In this way he took them by companies until he got through [the whole Regiment]. When he came to ours, he asked “Whose Company [is this]?” I told him “Williamson’s boys.” He says, “You are from Davidson. You won’t leave me alone. Go to your tents”.

Although none of our boys would have thoughts of going off without going right as they said. Still, they professed to be sorry that they did not have a chance of letting him know they felt that it was their privilege to go if they wished. By the prompt action of the Genl, I have no doubt a serious mutiny was prevented. For if he had waited until the11th and all had got excited in asking for their discharge, there is no knowing where the thing

[34] A black-jack brush is a type of fence painting brush with short bristles made for ”black-jacking.” If your cloth could not hold black-jack, it was because it was full of [bullet] holes. This was a threat by AJE to shoot his way through Lt. Allen’s US troops.

would have stopped. If their request had not been promptly agreed to, half starved & naked men, when they get excited, have little reason or reflection if crossed in their purpose for all wanted to go home. But after promising to stay, [they] stayed as far as I knew cheerfully until the reinforcements from East Tennessee joined. Which they did in three or four days & the Genl sent us home for the Government and us to decide about our time being out & we never heard anything more about it, only from those that had been at home who found great fault with us for leaving the Army.

Our Orderly who had been put under guard before the compromise was called up by the Genl when he returned to headquarters and asked if he was willing to stay with the rest. He said he never would leave him until he said the word. [So, the General] gave him a dram & sent him to his company.

We remained at home & in the summer drew our pay for the campaign.

The Battle of New Orleans

By

Andrew Jackson Edmondson
Tennessee Volunteers

15. The Road to Florida – September 1814

After getting home & resting & getting plenty eats, we were nearly all of us ready for another Campaign when the opportunity offered. And we had another chance, as in the fall of 1814, Volunteers were called for to go to Florida & New Orleans. The Indians in Florida were very troublesome, being encouraged in their depredations by British officials who it appeared were urging these poor Creatures & having the complete control of the ports in Florida [had] done our frontier great damages.

On the 28th of September 1814, a Brigade of mounted men rendezvoused at old Camp Blount near Fayetteville in Lincoln County Tennessee under the command of Brigadier Genl Coffee. The two regiments [were] commanded by Col. R.H. Dyer & my old Capt. Thomas Williamson. Dyer commanded the first regiment, the one I belonged to. [And] Williamson [commanded] the 2nd. In the two Regiments there was about 2500 men. Genl Jackson had been appointed a Major Genl in the Regular army [and] was directed to accept the Services of two Regiments of Mounted Gunmen to serve twelve months unless sooner discharged. Under this requisition we were once more ready for the field & myself with 17 of my school mates attached ourselves to a company that Capt. T. Jones & J.A. Walker were attempting to raise, with the promise that I should have the 2nd Lieutenancy. But after the Company was organized & the election came on, they deserted me who had enabled them to complete their company & elected J.W. Ecum who as a substitute had joined a day or two before the election. Although he was an excellent officer and a man I liked, still I felt I had been badly treated.

My father[35] was so dissatisfied with my treatment he wanted to hire a substitute but
I pointed to the young men who had enrolled with me & told him I could not leave them. This satisfied him that I was right. I, for their benefit, accepted the office of Orderly tendered me by the Capt. but during the whole campaign endeavored to thwart him in any of his efforts at reconciliation. Though a brave man, he had very little knowledge of his

[35] Robert Edmondson, Jr., a veteran of the Revolution and wounded at the Battle of King's Mountain and later in Feb 1788 at the Battle of Neely's Bend, Tennessee. In this later action, he was wounded in the arm by a shot and eight years later the musket ball was removed.

duty. Consequently, [he] was often wrong in his commands and laying himself
liable to be disobeyed & I never let an opportunity slip of letting him feel it.

As I said before, we rendezvoused at old Camp Blount on the 28th September[36] and, after organizing, took up our line of march for the Sunny South cheerfully regardless of the where or who we had to meet if old Hickory headed us and about as pretty a sight as I ever seen was the army crossing the Tennessee river at the Muscle Shoals. Our Company was near the front and as the front touched the South bank, the rear came in on the North bank. It was said the river was three miles wide there. It was a clear pretty day & it looked a pretty sight to see the string clear across the stream, although it was shoaly & some places tolerable deep, we got over without any accident except some of the men losing their saddle bags with their clothes. One of our men named East lost his and never put on a clean shirt until after the battle at New Orleans. His clothes were so slick that when the rest of us were covered with body lice they would not stay on him.

After crossing the river we took Gaines's Trace[37] & crossed the Tom Bigbee at Cotton Gin port. Forded it. Was deep & boggy. While the front were

---

[36] September 28, 1814. Camp Blount is located in Fayetteville, Tennessee, along the Elk River.

> "Historic Camp Blount, located on the banks of the Elk River two miles south of downtown Fayetteville, TN, is the site where General Andrew Jackson mustered troops for the Creek Indian War in October of 1813 as part of the War of 1812. The warring Creeks had massacred 250 men, women and children at Fort Mims. The Creeks were severely defeated at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend [March 27, 1814] with the death of 900 braves and the loss of about 45 men in Jackson's forces. **Nine months later, soldiers under Jackson again mustered at Camp Blount and marched to New Orleans to be a part of the Battle of New Orleans** and the final defeat of the British forces and the end to Great Britain's goal to colonize America."

https://www.fayettevilletn.com/departments/administration/current_administration_projects/camp_blount.php. See also, https://www.campblount.com/about/

[37] The Gaines Trace was a road in the Mississippi Territory. It was constructed in 1811 and 1812 from the Tennessee River (opposite the Elk River's mouth) to Cotton Gin Port on the upper Tombigbee River and on to Fort Stoddert on the lower Tombigbee. The portion from the Tennessee River to Cotton Gin Port was surveyed in 1807 and 1808 by Edmund P. Gaines, the road's namesake and a career United States Army officer. In 1816, the Gaines Trace and the Tombigbee River were the boundaries between United States and Chickasaw territory in Mississippi. See map at ____

crossing, I cut my name on a Gum on the North Bank and one of my friends told me he saw it after Monroe County was settled & organized. We marched on past old Col. Peter Syms & Deshongs, both white men with Indian families. getting corn for our horses & Meat. Beef [was what we had] for ourselves when we could & marching from 25 to 35 miles per day, the weather being fine. The first white settlement we came to was St. Stephens where we camped a day or two & from thence went to the Cut off from the Tom Bigbee to the Alabama River where we lay some days & here Genl Jackson met us.

His headquarters being at Mobile, here we met some of our Neighbours who belonged to the Militia & were stationed at Fort Montgomery. One half of Coffee's Brigade were here dismounted. Left their horses in the Cut off. Marched for Pensacola where we arrived on the 6th of November 1814.

16. Pensacola

The first cannon ball I ever saw flying was here. When we arrived near the town, the Genl sent a fag but it was fired on & the ball whistled over our heads cutting off the pine limbs. We then expected to commence ourselves, but [we] were ordered out of the reach of the guns and camped for the night. On the next day, we marched into Pensacola in three columns. Coffee's dismounted regiment & the friendly Indians in the center. The mounted men with Hind's Dragoons on the right & nearest the Fort. The regulars next [to] the bay. Our column marched up the street on which the Governor's house stood. We received two rounds from a six pounder without any injury & then a white flag was hoisted but this had no effect on the Fort for after the Governor had surrendered several shots were fired from it. One of them I told the boys I would stop as it came rolling along but was jerked back by a man that had more sense and experience than myself. Just after it passed us rolling

along on the ground, it met some obstruction and flew to the height of six feet & never struck the ground again as long as I could see it.

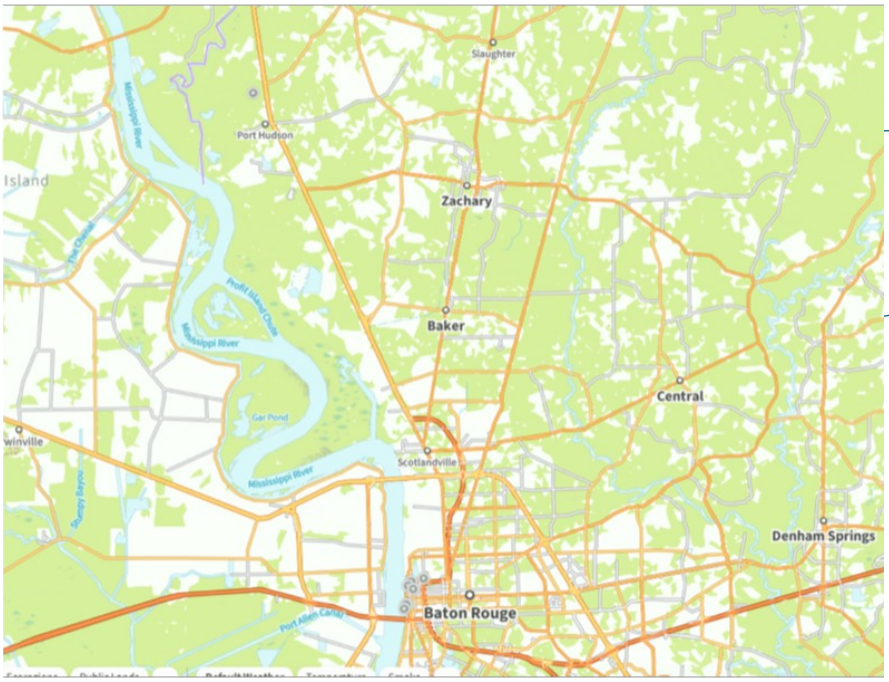
After a while, we got possession of the Fort & just before night marched back to our old camp. The regulars remaining in possession of the Town and Fort. On the next day, we were busy killing beef & some of the mounted men went to the Barancas, a fort further down the bay, to take possession & hem in the British and force their Vessels to run the gauntlet, but both the forts was blown up to prevent it.

17. The Spy Says: New Orleans

On the next day, we started back to the cut off and it was current in Camp that an old Tory that was in Pensacola & was taken and protected by Genl Jackson from the men belonging to Hines Dragoons whose parents he had robbed in the Revolutionary War & fled to Pensacola with the plunder to keep them from Lynching him. In fact, he had carefully guarded & it was believed Genl Jackson got from him the news that the British were on their way to New Orleans which caused his hasty return & subsequent movements toward the Mississippi. We were 23 days getting from the cut off where we had left our horses to the near the mouth of Thompson's Creek and it rained 19 of the 23 days. Our clothes & baggage wet nearly all the time. We had no tents except for the sick & traveled from 20 to 35 miles per day killing beeves[38] at night for our rations. The country was a wilderness with a few cow raisers & some poor Indians & our days march was regulated by the chores of getting beeves to feed the men which was one cause of the difference in our days marches. Then was a time for us poor orderlies for we hardly got 3 hours sleep in the 24 for after the beeves were kilt, they had to be divided to the companies & then to the messes & we hardly ever got through till after midnight & up at four to get ready for the next day's march. When we came to a stream we managed to get our baggage & Selves carried over in canoes or boats & had to swim our horses & they were pretty near used up. It was generally a piney country and the ground was so rotten we would frequently mire on the highest hills.

I think it was about the middle of December when we reached the Mississippi at the mouth of Thompson's Creek & were busy building shelters to winter when an express came from Genl Jackson to Genl Coffee to come to New Orleans just as fast as his horses could bring him. In about an hour we were mounted and on the road & each man was ordered to take care of himself & get there as soon as he could by traveling day and night.

[38] Beeves, being an older term for the plural of cow or beef.



It was Saturday, 17 December [1814]. My horse being foundered, I made but little headway the first day. I stayed all night with an old Scotch lady about 20 miles above Baton Rouge who was very kind to me & helped me to work with my horse so that the next morning he got on tolerable well. She directed me a near way through the Devil's Swamp as it was called that saved me some four miles travel & as I had but little money, she charged me nothing & made me promise to come by and see her if I ever got back home & I got permission on our return to come by the old lady's & stay with her again. From some cause I was a great favorite with her. She said on my return she had made frequent enquiries about me during the siege & really appeared to take so much interest in me that I felt ashamed particularly as the boys laughed at me about it. There were a good many of them there. She appeared to think as I was nothing but a Serjeant when I passed going down & had told her so & as I came back & the boys called me Lieut., that it was only modesty as I went down that prevented me from claiming that distinction & could not believe anything else. She was then about seventy years old & was from the same County in Scotland that Major Mitchell who was taken prisoner on the night of the 23rd was. Knew him and his family well. He stayed the night at her house as they brought him up to Natchez. I got but little sleep that night. When I left she made me promise that if ever I came near her I would come and see her. I believe she truly had a warm friendship for me. She must have gone to her long home long since but

as long as I live, I will not forget old Madam Fridge & her kindness to the rough boy with the sick horse in Baton Rouge.

I met Samuel N. & John D. Marlin, his brother, who now lives in H.S. (Holly Springs, Miss.). We there made our acquaintance and as they had been left behind too, we agreed to go on together & stuck together until we reached New Orleans. Wednesday morning just after daylight, having traveled pretty much day &night except to rest an hour or two at a time to take a hasty nap & feed our horses & sometimes get a mouthful to eat. The fact is our Brigade was scattered along the Coast. Some on foot, some driving their horses. Others on horseback poking along. All trying to get to headquarters. The planters were very kind to us when we stopped & if we would or could have taken time for them to have done it, would have fed us & our horses sumptuously. But every man appeared to think the safety of the city depended on his getting there.

18. New Orleans, Friday, 23 December 1814[39]

After we got to Camp Coffee, just above the city, we lay there sunning ourselves & drying our clothes until about two o'clock PM, Friday 23 December, when an order came that the British had landed & were marching on the city in great force & we must hurry down to protect it. We were pretty soon in the saddle. Never was such a hurry before by any of us. In less than an hour after the express came, we had drawn our ammunition and were on the road. We had come a long way for a brush & were now about to be gratified & were in the City in less than two hours after the order issued.

We were the first troops that went through the city & such a sight I hope to never see again. Women, children & old men moving up town. The women crying & screaming for fear of the British. The sides of the streets in the upper part of the city was lined with Negroes with large waiters filled with good liquors which we were urged to drink free of charge. We would, in galloping past, take a bottle, knock off the upper part of the neck instead of trying to uncork [it], drink, and pass it on. In this way we passed through. And just after dark, [we] left the levee down which we had been traveling, took out through an old field just as we left the road. One of our men whose horse stumbled got his gun broke. The Capt.

[39] See also the section "**Affair Below New Orleans, December 23rd, 1814**" in the references at the end of this work.

wanted him to go back, but he would not do it. His name was Isaac Burleson, a cousin of Ed Burleson of Texas. The boys laughed at him and asked him what he was going to do with a broken gun. He told them some of them would be killed & he would take their gun. And, the first one of the British that was killed near him, he laid down his rifle, a fine one, & hauled off the accoutrements of the dead Briton, saying a fair exchange is no robbery & made the swap with the dead man. The last time I saw him after he got home, he still had the Gager & I hope, if he is dead, his family will keep it for his sake. For he certainly was [as] brave & cool a man in danger as I ever saw.

a. Naval bombardment

When our Brigade had left the road & gone some distance we were halted until the regulars & New Orleans troops would bring on the engagement. While we were waiting, we could see the British camp fires burning brightly. They little thought from the jolly manner in which they were preparing supper [that] Old Hickory was so close to them. Him & Staff went down our line to reconnoiter, I suppose, and as they came back the old Genl had something to say to each company as he passed which made their blood flow a little faster. Just at the time he passed our Company, the old Carolina[40] moved down the river opposite their Guard & was hailed thus "Boat a hoy." Three times. The next word: "Who are you?" At that the old boat cut loose with a broadside. Some of the balls passed pretty near us. The camp fires of the British died out so suddenly it appeared as if the ground had sunk there & the infantry, including city troops & regulars, commenced the engagement. Before we were ordered to move on we could see the blaze from their guns cross each other. It appeared at an angle of about 20 degrees. Both shots too high. The

---

[40] Carolina, a schooner, was built at Charleston, S.C.; purchased by the Navy while still on the stocks; launched 10 November 1812; and commissioned 4 June 1813, Lieutenant J. D. Henley in command.
Carolina set sail for New Orleans, and while making her passage, captured the British schooner Shark. Arriving at New Orleans 23 August 1813, she began an active career of patrol directed against possible British action as well as the pirates which infested the Caribbean. On 16 September 1814, Carolina attacked and destroyed the stronghold of the notorious Jean Lafitte on the island of Barataria.
Carolina, with the others of the small naval force in the area, carried out the series of operations which gave General Andrew Jackson time to prepare the defense of New Orleans when the British threatened the city in December 1814. On 23 December, she dropped down the river to the British bivouac which she bombarded with so telling an effect as to make a material contribution to the eventual victory. As the British stiffened their efforts to destroy the naval force and to take the city, Carolina came under heavy fire from enemy artillery on 27 December. The heated shot set her afire, and her crew was forced to abandon her. Shortly after, she exploded.

British threw some rockets. One of our Company, old William Scott said "They are throwing red hot balls."

b. Defense of the U.S. Left Flank

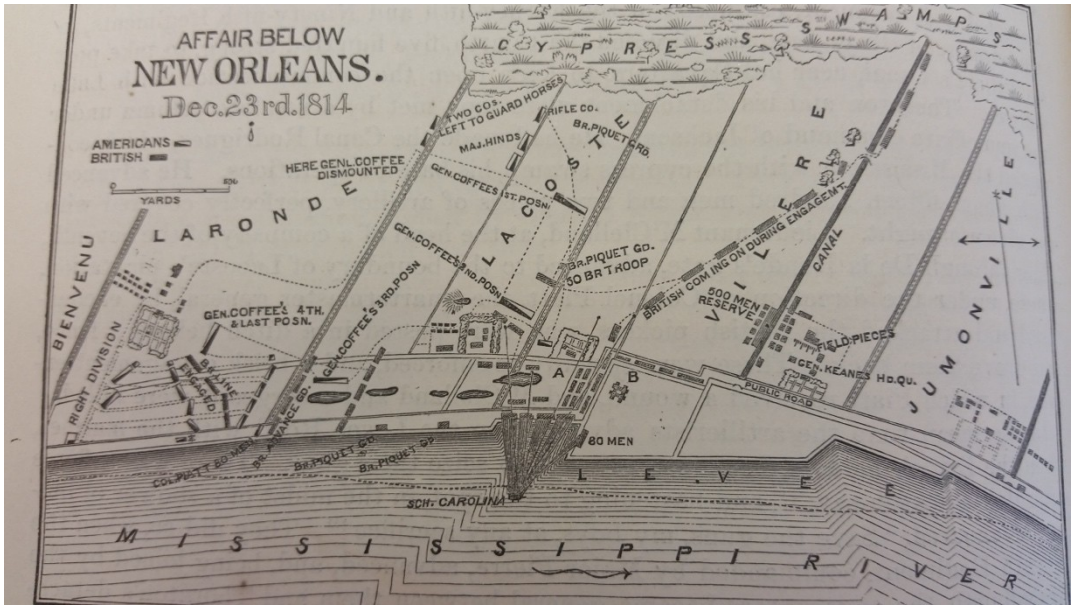
We were ordered to move on for perhaps a quarter of a mile. Were ordered to dismount, tie our horses two & two together & let them rip. The rear of the Brigade said they came pretty near being run over. As soon as we had got into the rear of the British where it was intended for us to act, we were ordered to form the line & were wheeled in by Companies & just as our Company was brought into line & Col Lauderdale, our Lieut. Col, was turning to bring another company into line he was struck by a ball. I think in the forehead, & [he was] killed. We thus lost the commander of our Battalion, a rough man but one of the best field officers in the Brigade. And from his rough manners, an officer his battalion did not know how to appreciate until we had lost him. He had never slept from the Regt from the time we left home until he was killed & said when we left home he intended to stick to us if he lived until we got home. He truly was the Soldiers friend, always ready to hear his complaints and if just to see him righted.

c. Friends or Enemies?

There being no other field officer near when he fell, we directly got into confusion in jumping fences & ditches. And being entirely unacquainted with the ground, although the moon which was near the full at first shined pretty bright, our battalion got separated from the balance of the Brigade. And while in same that situation, the reinforcements of the British came on & over the ground we had just marched over & commenced firing on us. Major Kavanaugh, who was one of our field officers & after Lauderdale was killed came & took command of us, came along past where we were drawn up facing as we thought our own men, but in reality the British, and asked if someone would go up & tell our Col. Dyer that it was his own men he was shooting. I stepped out & said if no one else would go I would. When I said this Capt. Jo [John] Donelson[41] who commanded the Rangers said he would go with me & a man belonging to Capt. Evans Company from Davidson named Floyd said he would go too. He since died in this county near Tallaloosa.

---

[41] *See* letter of John Donelson, Captain, dated January 27, 1815 in the reference section.



After we had got one hundred yards from our line, they still firing as they approached us, Donelson said he would go no further & Floyd stopped with him. I told them, [as] I disliked to start on an errand & not go through with it, I would go on. Donelson said I might do as I pleased, he would wait for me. I pushed on & when I got in about 20 yards [from] them, a field officer I took for our Col., rode up to the line & said: “There they are, give it to them.” And [he then] galloped off to another part of the line. I halloed after him & was so sure that it was our Col. [that I] asked him if he intended killing all his own men. A man nearest to me who was on foot said it was a mistake and asked me what Regiment I belonged to. I told him first Regt of Coffee’s Brigade & first battalion & asked him if that was not the 2nd Battalion. He said yes. By this time, I had got close enough to not be so sure it was our folks & I stopped. The man kept talking. I discovered that they had white straps for their bayonets & cartridge boxes. Just as I made this discovery, he ordered me, seeing he could not get much closer to me till he was found out, to ground my arms[42] for a damned Yankee.

You may think I was easily fooled, as you may have the impression that all the British Soldiers wear red coats, which if it had been the case I could have found them out sooner. For although it was night, the moon was shining & if their coats had been red, I would have detected them before I got so close & known it was not our folks. But the uniform of these troops was grey. Believing, too, all the enemy were between us & the river, it

[42] ”Ground my arms” meaning to surrender by throwing one’s arms (rifle or musket) to the ground.

was hard for me to believe we had an enemy in our rear & older men than me were fooled. If I was deceived as to who they were, he was deceived as to my grounding my arms, for although I was tolerable good at a foot race, I expect I never made better time that I did that night. When they found I did not surrender, they commenced firing at me which did not make me run slower. From the whistling of the balls, I thought the whole British army were shooting at me. I "halloed" as loud as I could that it was the British and was careful to run down the fence on which the left of our line rested. Our company at the other end of the line.

d. Confusion in the Ranks

This threw me a smart distance from our company. I walked along the rear of the Battalion & told them as I passed it was the British. When I got to where our Company was, they had not heard me hallo the British and they were mixed up. Our folks [were] trying to make them [the British] believe they were friends & the British saying if you are friends why don't you ground your arms? I could be deceived until I read the debates on the $1,000 fine in Congress. I then understood they thought we were the disaffected citizens mentioned in the debates. I soon convinced our folks it was the British. They soon all that were in a situation to do it, jerked up their arms which in their zeal to satisfy the British of their having friends, had grounded them, and commenced using them.

Our Cornet & four privates were taken prisoner, our Capt. lost his sword, our first Lieut. shot through the Shoulder after discharging our guns. We retreated as they were a great deal too many for us & lay down in a ditch. Old Wiliam Scott who saw the hot balls at the commencement of the fight belonged & was an elder in the Seceder Church. [He] refused to get into the ditch. I called him to come into the ditch. He refused & said the same God would protect him there that would in the ditch & he was just as safe as if he was in the ditch. He had hardly got the word out of his mouth until his arm (was) broken in two or three places. He was so badly wounded that he was one of the six who got a suit of clothes from an old lady who made six suits of clothes and wanted Genl Coffee to give to six of his bravest men. The Genl told her he could not do that as he did not know how to decide that, but if she would be satisfied, he would give it to six of his worst wounded. To this she agreed, and old William Scott & Major David Hubbard got two of the suits.

After we left the ditch, we soon fell in with a portion of the 2nd Regt commanded by Col Williamson & while him and our officers were talking, Major Mitchell of the British army[43] came along looking for his Regt. It thus appeared the British army, with all their discipline, were as much confused as we were. When he came near our line he asked one of Donelson's men if he could tell him anything of the 95th, I presume his regiment. The young man ordered him to surrender which he did, unbuckled his sword & threw it down and Capt. Donelson took it into

[43] The Battle of New Orleans in itself was an all-out disaster for the British forces. Although a relatively small force, the British force found itself under a huge barrage of fire throughout much of the New Orleans campaign. Surtees quotes Harry Smith, a veteran of many engagements during his time in the Peninsula as saying that the intensity of the firepower experienced during the battle was unlike anything he had ever faced before.
During the advance to battle, mainly done by ship owing to the coastal location of the battle, the 95th formed an advanced guard alongside the 85th Regiment and some artillery pieces. Prior to the army's disembarkation, William Surtees writes of how one company of the 95th secured the British forces a landing area under the cover of darkness; he states: "some light boats were sent forward with Captain Travers of ours and his company, to endeavour to surprise a regiment of the enemy, which we knew were stationed in some huts at the mouth of the creek… From the information they [the huts owners] gave, the best arrangements possible were made for effecting this; for Travers, moving silently on, and landing his men at the opposite ends of the hamlet, there remained no way of escape open for the troops in the houses. As soon as all was ready, they rushed forward and secured the whole picquet without a shot being fired, with the exception of two men, who preferred venturing into the marsh, in the rear of the huts, where it is not improbable they perished. The duty was conducted so quietly, and so expeditiously, that very few of the other troops knew anything of the matter; but this alone secured us a landing without opposition, for had a firing been begun on either side, it must have alarmed the American army, who, no doubt, would have used their endeavours to oppose our landing." Whether the estimation of how many American troops were stationed at the creek is entirely accurate remains to be seen; as it seems highly unlikely that a single company of Riflemen would have held sufficient numbers, or firepower, to overrun an outpost held by a whole Regiment of the enemy.

As a part of the advance, the 95th upon reaching the battlefield, took up advanced posts in front of the main body of the army. It was here, again that the picquet positions occupied by the 95th came under contact with American forces first, before much of the army. Surtees writes of his displeasure, having been attached to one of the companies acting as the picquet, under the overall command of Captain Hallen; as, having gained some intelligence from an unwitting prisoner that a large body of American troops were moving towards his position, he deployed some men of the company using the best cover he could find. This order was to be overruled by a fellow junior officer, Lieutenant Daniel Forbes, who redeployed the men on the open road "with a hedge and ditch in the rear, both of which they would be compelled to pass the moment the enemy pressed upon him." Such an act of foolish behaviour seems to have been uncommon in the Rifles throughout the period, with only the best candidates for commission being considered. The consequences of Forbes' actions, reported once again by Surtees, shows that his foolishness did in fact render his position useless; having been set upon by "perhaps more than twenty times his number… being himself wounded, his sergeant killed, and losing nearly the half of his men." Surtees however reports that he himself used his initiative, and, despite reportedly coming within "a yard or two of a strong body of the enemy", successfully managed to reach the British Lines to relieve the picquets and regain the original positions. During this engagement, one officer, Captain Hallen, and about forty men of the 95th were either injured or killed by American troops. The casualty rates for the regiment may well have been higher, were it not for Captain Hallen's quick thinking when presented with two Battalions worth of American troops. The commands given to the Battalions to "make ready" and "present" were easily audible to the waiting soldiers of the 95th, who without warning, lay down, thus rendering the volleys useless, before standing up and pouring their own fire into the American ranks. The defence put up by Hallen has been described

possession.[44] The firing by this time being pretty well over, only in little Spurts on different portions of the field, Capt. Donelson belted Mitchel's sword round him & let our Capt. have his.[45]

After some little time our Lieut., who was wounded in the shoulder, wished for a horse to go to the Hospital. I started out to get one for him. In wandering about in the Sugar Cane, I frequently passed some portions of our men huddled up together trying to get warm.

---

by his fellow officer Jonathan Leach as, "an affair of posts but rarely equalled, and never surpassed in devoted bravery… Had the expedition terminated more favourable, it is to be presumed that the brave commander of the company would not have gone unrewarded." As it was, owing to the fact that the expedition ended in failure, the exploits of junior officers, such as Captain Hallen, went all but unnoticed. As was the case, by 1824, when he retired from the service of the Army, Captain Hallen still held the rank of Captain, a rank which he had obtained in May 1809.

The way in which Surtees writes of the Battle of New Orleans seems to imply that much of the action, be it disaster or success, seems to have been taken in great humour by most of the British Army, suggesting that despite the mounting overwhelming odds, from a numerically superior force, backed up by naval firepower, spirits seemed to remain high. One such instance of this humour came during the fight to regain the advanced picquets, Surtees writs that several naval Captains were present during this, and after each enemy volley, one captain would cry "Now, my lads, up and give them another broadside!" This repeated outcry, Surtees accredits to keeping the confidence of the outnumbered British troops at a high level.

To compound matters even further, the combat for the picquet saw the Commandant of the 95th, Major Mitchell being taken prisoner. This early engagement saw the numbers of the 95th reduced by an estimated 120 men who were wounded or killed, according to Surtees; effectively wiping out over one company of the 488 men deployed with the regiment. This appears to be a large number of casualties taken by the regiment, however, despite around one quarter of the 95th's effective strength being wiped out, only two of the officers appear to have been wounded. Given the odds faced by the regiment, with Surtees suggesting at times the odds were twenty to one against the Rifles, this loss is seemingly small under the circumstances. One suggestion, once again posed by Surtees for this, is that the Rifles advance guard, consisting of no more than 100 men were able to hear the commands given to the American Battalions to make ready, present, and fire, thus giving them time to find cover closer to the ground, recover and return fire.

It has since been suggested that the British troops, whom Surtees does not amount to more than 1,800 during this skirmish, were surrounded on three sides by American forces, thus the influence and conduct of the officers would have been critical in keeping the morale of the men up high, as well as needing a cool head to act competently under pressure.

Quite how the casualty rate of the 95th remained so low, , having come under fire throughout the majority of the campaign from an American Schooner, able to pour fire from 18 pound cannon onto the British flank. The British were unable to return fire upon the Schooner effectively, with no heavy cannon, nor naval vessels able to engage the ship, meaning the Schooner was able to menace the British at every given opportunity. Surtees himself was lucky not to be killed by the ship's fire, having vacated a hut just a minute or two before it came under fire from the schooner. It does seem that it was not just Surtees who led a charmed life under the fire of the Schooner, but also some of the wounded of the regiment, who, having been placed in another house found themselves under fire. Surtees states thus: "One shot which he fired went through the front of a house in which some of our wounded men were lying, and, striking low, it carried the knapsack out from under the head of a man of ours named Rayour, which he had put for a pillow, without doing him the smallest injury."

As with Buenos Aires, it is suggested, this time by Surtees, that the British would have followed up initial success with victory had they pressed home their advantage immediately on the 23rd December, rather than waiting for the main bulk of the army to arrive on the 25th. This belief is substantiated by Surtees stating that General Jackson, the American commander, "had some trouble in keeping them [American forces] together after their defeat on the night of the 23d, and the only mode in which he could get them to form was, in planting the first who retired in line near

As I passed Donelson's Company, he said to one of his Lieutenants, I wonder what became of the poor fellow that went up to tell the British who we were. The other with an oath said his hide would not hold Black Jack brush[46] & they could hardly believe me
when I told them I was not hurt. In fact, all that knew anything of my going up & had not seen me afterwards were certain I was killed, but through mercy I was not hurt. I met old Col. Williamson, one of our old neighbors & with whom I had served two Campaigns, who was so certain I was killed he could hardly believe it was me when I spoke to him & caught him by the hand, he on horseback & me afoot hunting a horse for the Lieut.

---

the road, and as each successive detachment arrived from the fight they were made to form on their left." It does appear that once again, like nine years previously, that an outnumbered British force managed to rout a numerically superior enemy force, yet failed to deliver a decisive blow, opting to sit and wait for the remainder of their force to arrive. Instead, having waited for the bulk of the army to arrive, the British advanced towards what was now, a well dug-in American position outside the city of New Orleans.
The delay from the primary skirmish by the British forces between December 23rd 1814 and the commencement of the main battle on January 8th, to allow the commanders time to reorganise the Brigades to their now battle-ready strengths, gave the American forces enough time to fall back to a pre-chosen defensive position, and bolster the defences. The position chosen by the American forces saw the enemy flanks secure on the left, by the Mississippi river, and on the right by cypress swamps. The consequence for General Pakenham, now commanding the British forces, being that a full frontal assault on American lines was now the only option for success.
Between the end of the skirmish of the 23rd December, and the main engagement of the 8th January, the 95th fared lightly, suffering very minimal casualties and just two men going missing. None were officers, a feat not replicated across the army. This low casualty rate seems miraculous as, during the advance, the British once again came under fire from another American gunboat. According to Commodore Daniel Patterson, on the 29th December 1814, the captain of the second gunboat made the enemy suffer "a great loss in that day's action, by the heavy fire from this ship and General Jackson's lines, where the cannon was of heavy calibre, and served with great spirit."

[44] Major Samuel Mitchell was the Commandant of the 95th Rifles and was captured during the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. "[T]he combat for the picquet saw the Commandant of the 95th, Major Mitchell being taken prisoner. This early engagement saw the numbers of the 95th reduced by an estimated 120 men who were wounded or killed, according to Surtees; effectively wiping out over one company of the 488 men deployed with the regiment. This appears to be a large number of casualties taken by the regiment, however, despite around one quarter of the 95th's effective strength being wiped out, only two of the officers appear to have been wounded." The 95th Rifles Battle Reenactment and Living History Society. (Accessed January 2025). The Journal of AJE questions the timing of Major Mitchell's capture. AJE has this occurring on December 23, 1814, not in the actual Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815.

[45] "*The result of the affair of the 23d was the saving of Louisiana; for it cannot be doubted but that the enemy, had he not been attacked with such impetuosity, when he had hardly effected his disembarkation, would, that very night, or early next morning, have marched against the city, which was not then covered by any fortification, and was defended by hardly five thousand men, mostly militia, who could not, in the open field, have withstood disciplined troops, accustomed to the use of the bayonet, a weapon with which most of the militia were unprovided.*" Historical Memoir of the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, Major A. Lacarriere Latour https://www.msmohp.com/first-battle-for-new-orleans.html

[46] "Not hold up Jack brush" means something like, even if you applied jack-black tar to the item, it is too full of holes to "hold up" to the brushing.

> "By God, old fellow, I am glad to see you alive. I heard you were killed."

We got along the balance of the night as we could. Some spent their time looking for their horses. Mine was so noted that if he was not gone clear off somebody would bring him up. Sure enough, about day light, someone that had been hunting his brought, mine, to me. He had lost nothing but my bridle. We tried about that time to make a little fire out of the pickets but it did not warm us much. My patriotism at about sun up was at a pretty low ebb. I felt a good deal like running if an enemy appeared & the boys all said they felt pretty much as I did. The Commissary came up to where we were lying & rolled out some barrels of whiskey & knocked out the head of one. I stepped up filled a half pint cup nearly full and drank it off. This warmed me all over and made me ready for anything that might come.

19. The Breastwork and Bombardment

24 December 1814. The Regulars & militia soon commenced [constructing] that celebrated breastwork about which so much has been said about it being nearly all cotton, when in fact I don't believe there was 100 bales on the whole line. It is true there was a portion of the first work mixed with cotton but the line was over half a mile long some 8 feet high & from 12 to 15 feet wide. So, it would have taken a great many bales to have even made half of it. The greater portion of it was dirt & pickets. All the 24th [of December], we lay about 150 yards in the rear of the breast work in the old field.

25 December 1814. On Christmas morning, our Regt was ordered to the Bayou St. John to guard, as we understood, an engineer who was to select a place for some defences to be erected there. We lay near the lake all night; it was very cold. The moon was at the full and in eclipse we had no wood but pickets which make a white blaze & but little heat. We nearly froze on one side while the other was burning & sparks flew out & burned a hole in the back of my coat about the size of a bullet hole. The boys laughed at me and said I had got shot in the back.

26 December 1814. On the 26th, we went back to headquarters and just as we passed through New Orleans, we saw a smoke down on the river

below the British encampment. It was the old Carolina[47] that had got below the British lines & could not be got back. Consequently, she was blown up.

27 December 1814. We again took our position in the rear of the breastwork where we remained all the next day.[48] The 2nd Regt of Coffee's Brigade occupying the ground on the left of the line of Breastworks with us alternate days until the first of January. A portion of the British attempted to turn our left, [so] our Regt was ordered to the extreme left to prevent them from succeeding if they attempted it again, where we remained until the close of the seige. Our Lieut. Baskeville was appointed Major in the Regt, a vacancy occurring in consequence of the death of Col. Lauderdale & the promotion of Major Moulton in Lauderdale's place. Baskerville was made 2d Major which left a vacancy in our Company & I was appointed to succeed him[49] & the first night afterwards was ordered on picket guard.

28 December 1814. During the night, some negroes were endeavoring to escape to the British. Someone of the guard fired on them one of them in running [who then] ran up to one of our men who captured him. His excuse was that he was lost. The others got off, I thought to the British. The one we caught, I sent to headquarters in the morning.

---

[47] USS Carolina, a schooner, was the only ship of the United States Navy to be named for the British colony that became the states of North Carolina and South Carolina. Her keel was laid down at Charleston, South Carolina. She was purchased by the Navy while still on the stocks, launched on 10 November 1812, and commissioned on 4 June 1813 with Lieutenant J. D. Henley in command.
Carolina set sail for New Orleans, Louisiana, and while making her passage, captured the British schooner Shark. Arriving at New Orleans 23 August 1814, she began an active career of patrol directed against possible British action as well as the pirates that infested the Caribbean Sea. On 16 September 1814, Carolina attacked and destroyed the stronghold of the notorious Jean Lafitte on the island of Barataria.
Carolina, with the others of the small naval force in the area, carried out the series of operations which gave General Andrew Jackson time to prepare the defense of New Orleans when the British threatened the city in December 1814. On 23 December, she dropped down the river to the British bivouac which she bombarded with so telling an effect as to make a material contribution to the eventual victory. As the British stiffened their efforts to destroy the naval force and to take the city, Carolina came under heavy fire from enemy artillery on 27 December. The heated shot set her afire, and her crew was forced to abandon her. Shortly after, she exploded.

[48] Major Thomas Hinds' Squadron of Light Dragoons, a militia unit from the Mississippi Territory, had arrived at the battle on December 22, 1814. On 27 December 1814, Thomas Hind's mounted Mississippi militia dragoons grew more bold and started making hit-and-run cavalry attacks on British lines. Towards the evening of December 27, 1814, a British rocket was sent up. Thomas Hinds and his dragoons dashed up to the British outposts in parade exercise, fired volleys into the British lines, and then galloped back again hurraying and shouting in savage glee and derision. Walker, Alexander Page (1856). An Authentic Narrative of the Memorable Achievements of the American Army. New York: J. C. Derby.

[49] As Lieutenant Edmondson

This night[50] was opened for the first time our 13-1⁄2 inch mortar on them.[51] We could hear them talking plainly about it. The first fire, the shell bursted in the air. The next one I heard them hollow to each other: “Take care” & it fell right among them. We kept then up nearly all the time.

31 December 1814. On the last night of December, there was 150 men detailed from the Tennessee troops to annoy them or take their port guard and put under the command of Col. Kemper.

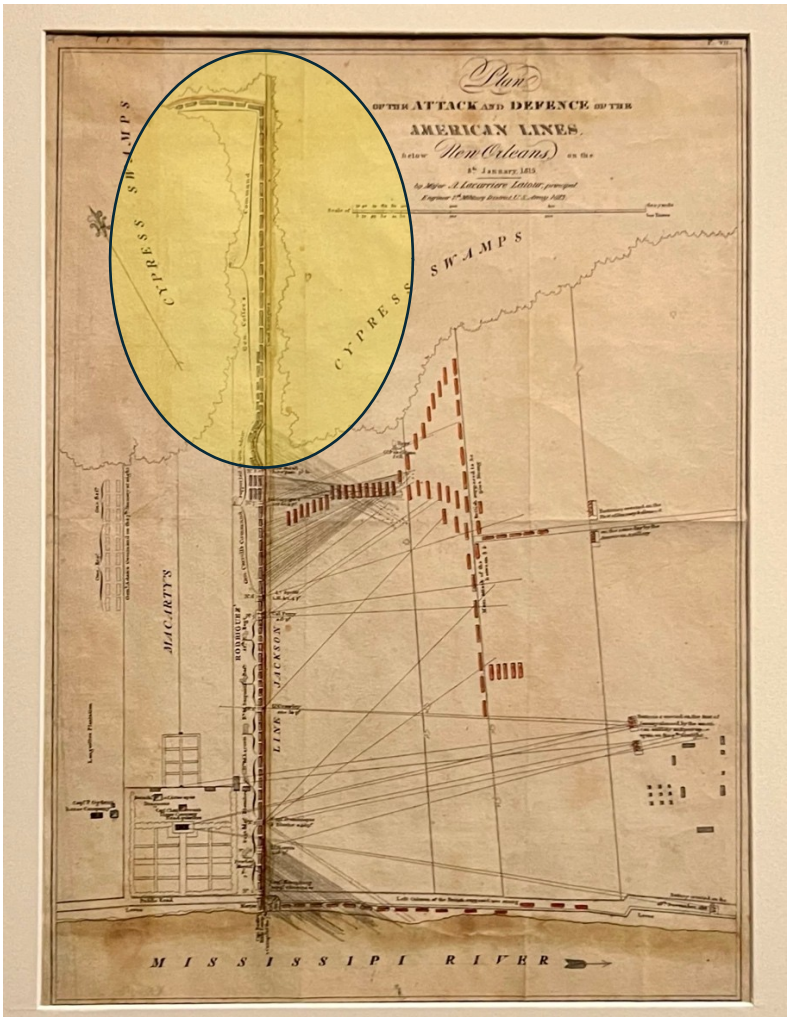
We were to go down the little ditches that were cut to run into the large ditch that their sentinels were placed on. The ditches were about 30 feet apart & about two feet wide & two deep. Two men went in each ditch. Just before me and my mate got to the main ditch (as we went two to the ditch), a sentinel that was placed on the main ditch thought he could hear something in the sugar cane, hailed & fired. The cane was a great way above our heads, we were in no danger, but one of Hines Dragoons six hundred yards off said he came very near being hit. When the sentinel fired all the rest of the line done the same thing. The alarm became General & we kept them confused nearly all night.[52]

---

[50] Night of 27 December or early morning hours of 28 December 1814.

[51] When the British reconnaissance force withdrew, the Americans immediately began constructing earthworks to protect the artillery batteries, further strengthening Line Jackson. They installed eight batteries, which included one 32-pound gun, three 24-pounders, one 18-pounder, three 12-pounders, three 6-pounders, and a 6-inch (150 mm) howitzer. Jackson also sent a detachment to the west bank of the Mississippi to man two 24-pounders and two 12-pounders on the grounded warship USS Louisiana. Even so, the British greatly outnumbered the Americans. Jackson's total of 4,732 men was made up of 968 Army regulars, 58 Marines (holding the center of the defensive line), 106 Navy seamen, 1,060 Louisiana militia and volunteers (including 462 Black people), 1,352 Tennessee militia, 986 Kentucky militia, 150 Mississippi militia, and 52 Choctaw warriors, along with a force from pirate Jean Lafitte's Baratarians. Jackson in the first week of the New Orleans land campaign that began on December 23 also had the support of the warships in the Mississippi River, including USS Louisiana, USS Carolina, the schooner USS Eagle, and the steamboat Enterprise. The naval warships were neutralized by the heavy naval artillery guns brought in by Pakenham and Cochrane a few days after Christmas.

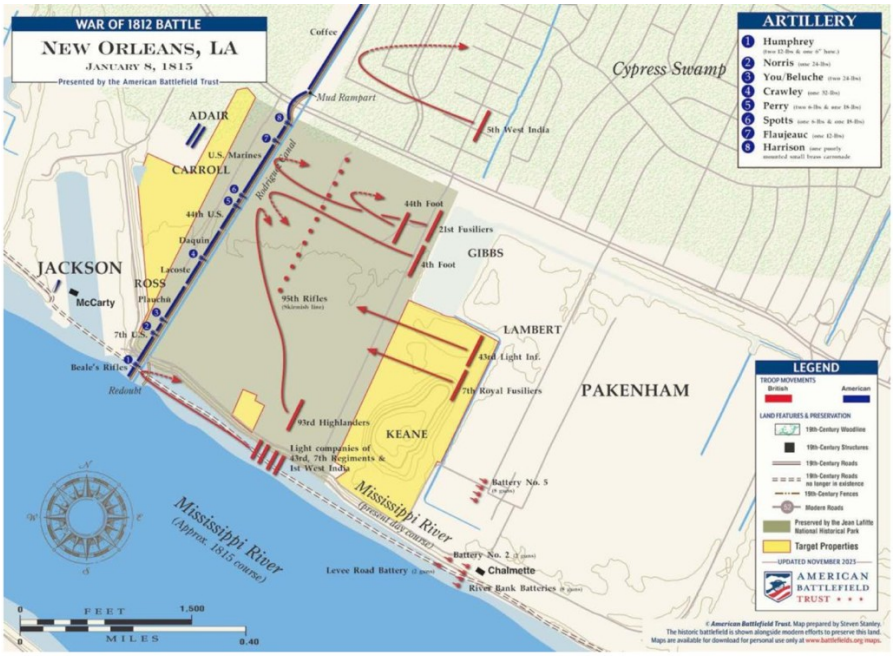
[52] It was December 30, 1814. Thomas Hind’s dragoons continued to mount cavalry hit-and-run raids on the British positions. In one raid, there was a group of British soldiers in a ditch. Major Thomas Hinds and his dragoons conducted a raid to attack this position. Hind’s dragoons rode some distance towards the British position. Then the American militia dragoons charged the position and leaped over the British soldiers in the ditch. The dragoons wheeled back and fired their pistols at the British soldiers in the ditch. Then the Dragoons galloped away and withdrew. However, the stunned British soldiers were in a few seconds able to regain their composure and fire a volley at the dragoons. The dragoons suffered 3 wounded men and two horses also wounded. In other occasions, when British soldiers set up redoubt batteries. Andrew Jackson would send Hind’s dragoons to raid the British positions to gather intelligence and the report back to headquarters



Battle map with approximate location of AJE's unit.
He was also with Jackson and Coffee at the central command point.

1 January 1815. The next morning,[53] they [the British] moved a battery up within six hundred yards of our line & commenced the New Year by a heavy discharge of cannonading & rockets. We were just eating our breakfast. Still in the rear of the breastworks. In the ditch, Genls Jackson & Coffee were standing near the head of our Company. The rockets came pretty thick. Then the firing of small arms commenced in the swamp on our left where our 2nd Regt was stationed. Genl Jackson ordered Coffee to take our Regt to their assistance. Coffee mounted our quartermaster's horse, which was tied near our Company. We followed him across the old field. The rockets, it appeared to me, were flying pretty thick. I thought we were a long time getting across the old field to the shelter of the trees in the edge of the swamp, but by the time we reached the left of the 2nd Regt, the firing had ceased & the British had retreated.

[53] 1 January 1815. The main British army arrived on New Year's Day 1815 and began an artillery bombardment of the American earthworks. Jackson's headquarters, Macarty House, was fired at for the first 10 minutes of the skirmish while Jackson and his officers were eating breakfast. The house was completely destroyed but Jackson and the officers escaped harm. The Americans recovered quickly and mobilized their own artillery to fire back at the British artillery. This began an exchange of artillery fire that continued for three hours. Several of the American guns were silenced, including the 32-pounder, a 24-pounder, and a 12-pounder, while some damage was done to the earthworks. The British suffered even greater, losing 13 guns (5 British batteries out of 7 total batteries were silenced by the Americans). The remaining British artillery finally exhausted its ammunition, and Pakenham canceled the attack. Major General Gibbs during the artillery duel sent soldiers to try to outflank Line Jackson on the right due to the near-success of the December 28 skirmish. A combined force of Tennessee militia and Choctaw warriors used heavy small arms fire to repel this maneuver. The Tennessee and Choctaw soldiers even moved forward in front of Line Jackson and counterattacked, guerrilla-style, to guarantee the British withdrawal. After yet another failure to breach Line Jackson Pakenham decided to wait for his entire force of 8,000 men to assemble before continuing his attack. (The 40th Foot arrived too late, disembarking on 12 January 1815.) The British lost 45 killed and 55 wounded in the artillery duel and the Americans lost 11 killed and 23 wounded.



New Orleans | Jan 8, 1815 (January 2023) *American Battlefield Trust*

We then commenced preparations for taking our permanent positions in the swamp by cutting down the trees & making a breastwork of logs & clearing the undergrowth away in front of our line for about forty yards making fires & fixing up our tents on platforms of pickets to sleep on, when we first got to our position on the left of the 2nd Regt. We were ordered to lay down on the edge of the ditch. We threw ourselves down & to show how completely we were worn down & careless as to danger, I had not been in that position ten minutes after all was still until I was sound asleep. And we all slept from that time until the British left, with our clothes all on [and] our muskets in our arms, when we could get to sleep at all.

The evening, we left Camp Coffee to come down to the first battle. I put on a pair of new shoes, good homemade ones & never took them off until I kicked them off after we left the lines to return to our encampment above New Orleans. After all was over, they were completely rotten.

By moving up so near our lines they annoyed us a good deal and it was determined to send out some men to try & take their Guns. Fifty men from Coffee's and 100 from Carroll's division. The young subalterns all wanted to go & had to draw for it. I drew a prise and consequently was one that went. Capt. White of the 2nd Regt commanded the men from our Brigade. We marched out on the levee & were ordered to advance on the battery. The British were protected by some houses at their battery.

Just as we were making ready, a heavy shower of rain came up & we were ordered into our lines. When the rain was over, we were marched out again. After receiving one fire from their battery, we were again ordered into our lines. None of us was hurt but I thought the grape fell around us pretty thick. The holes in the ends of their guns looked very large. Just as we got in our lines, we discovered the house near where they had erected their battery & which sheltered them some little from our sight was on fire. They left their battery that night & let their cannon remain where they had placed them when they moved up there.

20. The Battle of New Orleans – 8 January 1814

Nothing of any importance occurred until the morning of the 8th January, except the strengthening of our lines on that morning. A dull & cloudy one. Just before day light, I was lying awake & thought I could hear a rumbling sound. Presently the artillery opened & it was pretty near a constant roar until they had advanced and retreated the third time & although our Brigade, with the exception of two companies on our right, were not engaged & they in the edge of the old field. The others were too far in the woods to be in any danger, but I know I suffered a great deal more than if I had been in the hottest part. The British had a brass cannon that was with the column nearest the swamp that made as sharp a crack as a rifle. We could tell by this when they advanced or retreated. Just before the firing ceased.

Battle of New Orleans, Jean Hyacinthe de Laclotte. New Orleans Museum of Art. 29 1/2 x 36 in. (unframed). Oil on canvas.[54]

It was reported to headquarters the troops on the opposite bank had retreated before the British. This went like a flash of lightning along the line & we were all expecting a cannonade from that side every minute to rake our lines. I happened to be by the side of a large sweet gum stump. I laughingly told the boys I had located on the side of that stump farthest from the river & if the worst came, they must not interfere with my location. But just at this time it was reported to Genl Coffee our Pickett Guard had retreated. He was standing near our Company with his staff. He turned to our adjutant, told him to detail twenty men & send them with me to take the place of the guard that had left. I disliked the berth very much as I did not know the reason they had for retreating but marched off with the men and remained there until nearly night. Consequently, saw but little of the havoc we had made in the British lines. In fact, all I saw of it was the smoke from our guns during the engagement.

[54] The American mortar can be seen at bottom left. AJE would have been in the lines at the top right near where the forest (swap) looms. The concentration of attack can be seen by the number of British troops engaged in that direction.

9 January 1815. On the next morning,[55] Genl Coffee ordered me to go with one of Capt. Beenes spies through the swamp opposite the British camp & see what discoveries I could make as to what they were doing. We started off down the edge of the Swamp just out of sight of the field and kept on until we got as [far as] we thought enough to get a good view of them & I endeavored by climbing to get a sight of what they were at. It was raining, and everything was wet & no tree small enough for me to climb, but there were some cypresses & Gums that had no limbs for 40 feet. After trying until I had taken the skin off my legs & arms, I gave it up & we started back to report. We were going along talking very cagy trying to make out something to say for ourselves. Came to a ditch that we thought led to our camp. Went up it until we got to the edge of the field. Could hear talking. The palmettoes was very thick & we stepped through them into the open space. We were right in on the midst of the British lines and in less than 30 steps of a crowd of them. Fortunately, they did not discover us. We stepped back behind the palmettoes & were hid from them but were too much flurried to take many notes of what they were doing, but made the best of our way to our own folks.

[55] 9 January 1815.

When we got there, I reported to Col. Elliott[56] what we had seen, but failed to report to Genl Coffee, who came to our Company & told me I ought to have reported to him. He asked me a good many questions as to what I thought they were doing. I told him the only fair sight I got of them I was a little confused, but I believed they were burying their dead [as I] could see nothing that looked like they were fixing to leave. He laughed & told me Beene said he just took me up there to see what metal I was made of andthat he knew where he was going when he went up there. I told the Genl it was true. I was lost and scared but Beene was as bad lost & scared as I was. He said he thought this very probable.

Little occurred after this that I had any particular concern with until the British left. On the morning after they left in the night we followed them several miles but did not over take them. On looking at their encampment the ground was pretty well and thoroughly plowed with the cannon balls. The next day, after hearing an order from our Genl congratulating us on our conduct during the Seige, we returned to our old encampment above New Orleans.

On this march, as our horses were up there before & we had to go afoot, I kicked off my shoes as I mentioned in another place & walked up to camp in my stocking feet. The next day I got a pair of shoes that lasted me home.

21. Shipping Corn

After we had been some time at Camp Coffee, corn began to get scarce & Genl Coffee ordered me with 20 men to take charge of a barge & go up the river to get corn for our horses. I still have the order & insert it here below

[56] George Elliott was a Colonel under General Coffee in the Creek War and at the Battle of New Orleans. He died 31 Jan. 1861 age 80 years. For years, George Elliott was the owner of the finest race horses in the South. He was a personal friend of General Jackson, who was a frequent visitor at Wall Spring. https://www.tngenweb.org/sumner/odom1.htm

Camp above Orleans 28 January 1815

Lieut. Edmondson of Capt. Jone's Company will take command of the Barge &men that are detailed to work her and proceed with the barge up the river Mississippi until Lieut. Bedford, who will go by land, purchases a load of corn which you will bring to camp without delay. If you see my corn boats on the river coming down, put one of your men on board with orders that he push her night & day until he arrives here and report her to the quarter master of Brigade Major Rose. Great reliance is placed in your prompt execution of this order.

I am with due regards
John Coffee
Brig. Genl

Lieut. Bedford bought the corn & I with the men loaded the boat with it. The corn we purchased of the negroes at the different plantations on the coast with the approbation of their owners the custom with the planters these days on the Coast was to allow each negro a flour barrel of corn in the ears per month for head the negroes never worked for their masters before sun rise nor after sun down before and after that time they had rice patches and worked in them in this way they made rice enough for bread & sold the corn to any one that would buy it. We were gone from Headquarters eight days. Here I had the first spell during that campaign which run into the jaundice & did not recover my health again for a year. However, we got the corn & got with it to Headquarters where it was much needed.

22. Peace and Lice

About this time, the Quinsey broke out killed some and a good many suffered very much.
One of our men had his throat cut &breathed through a silver tube for several hours but finally recovered. When we heard officially that peace was made there was an exchange of prisoners. When ours came to us they brought company with them that was not very agreeable & consequently annoyed us a good deal. I mean body lice. The last one I saw was in a mile of home after I had thrown away all my clothes but a clean suit which I put on at Columbia. I found one in my sock just before I

got home, where he had sheltered, I can't tell, but my sock had to go too & I saw no more of them.

After we heard the news of peace, we commenced preparing to return home. I was in
town getting our horses shod for the homeward march. They were preparing for a celebration on account of peace. When we were leaving in the evening they commenced firing the cannon. The horse I had swapped my fine roan for had been taken prisoner & used by the British for a pack horse. He was so much afraid of the firing that I could hardly hold him. In fact, though poor, he was pretty near unmanageable & with difficulty I got safe to camp. Later, when Genl Jackson got to Nashville, I knew him so well that I took my father's horse, telling him I was afraid mine would not stand fire. After I left and went out with the crowd though it was raining the old man could not stand it, took my horse and came on. When we got in about a mile of town, I found him standing on the side of the road holding the horse & him in such a flurry that he could hardly be managed, though my father had him by the bridle. But he would not let me have him but made me keep with the crowd & he stayed behind & let the crowd pass. Though an ugly horse, one of the best I ever owned.

23. Home for Good

After several disappointments as to starting home, we got under way at last and as proud of it as boys get to be. We had had a laborious & hard campaign & been exposed greatly but those of us who were well felt that our trials though great were over. Our duty we had done faithfully, but were rejoiced that we were starting for home. We were much longer getting to Thompsons Creek than we were going down. Came through Baton Rouge,
Woodville.[57] Waiting at the latter place we met our sick who had been brought by water thus far.

When we got to Brashires where the Lake Road from New Orleans & the road from Natchez intersect, we met Carrol's division. One of my school mates Samuel W. Hope, who belonged to it, was sick. He sent for me & told me they were arranging to leave the sick of their division & asked me to try and get him off with us. He said if he was left he would die. I saw his Capt. who was willing to let us take him if the Genl would agree & after a good deal of trouble, I got him off. I put him on my horse & brought him home. There were now seven in my mess & we had but five horses, so two of us walked all the time we were all school mates & did not mind this much as we liked our school mate & he was very sick. His brother was in our mess & attended to him during the day. He had a sore ankle & was not able to walk any. My horse pleased him so much he would ride him all the time. None of us ever regretted the trouble we had with him in getting him home, at least I never did. For he was a true friend & never afterwards let any opportunity slip of showing it. He has long since gone to his long home. In fact, in all that seven, if there is but three of us now alive, I don't know it myself. John Fitzhugh, still in old Davidson, & Ebenezer Frazior[58] in Texas. The rest have paid the debt we all owe. Never shall I forget getting home. This time all had scattered towards their homes. None but me and Hope together. He riding my horse. I walking by his side. We had been gone over seven months. Had travelled between two & three thousand miles. The most of the distance through a wilderness country. Ran or shine we went. Hot or cold. Without tents to shelter us we went. But our sufferings were not greater than that of our friends at home on our account. The mail came from New Orleans twice a

[57] Woodville, Mississippi. Following the path of modern-day Route 61 north from New Orleans.
[58] Ebenezer Frazier (or Frazor) (1795-1864). Listed in US War of 1812 records as: Ebenezer Frazor, 1 REG'T MOUNTED GUNMEN (DYER'S), TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS. Rank - Induction, CORPORAL

month & afterwards my father told me mail days from New Orleans the crowd round the Post office was very great. If anyone got a letter from New Orleans, all had to hear it read. I wrote him about my scrape on the night of the 23rd Dec [and] it had to be read out. It caused some feeling with those that knew me & my old Father I was told, cried like a child though that was a part that he never told me.

At that time, in our part of the Country, there was no division with all. It was our Country right or wrong.

I got home just after breakfast the big road from Huntsville to Nashville ran about two hundred yards east of the house & a lane turned up to the front of the house. Hope rode my horse. I walked across the lot. A near cut. They were not expecting us till night, but father in his anxiety to see me had started out [down] the road we were to come, expecting to be able to see or hear something. [He] met Hope & turned back but before they got in sight I had got on the top of the yard fence. Several of the family were walking about in the yard. None of them saw me until I fired off my pistol & then such a hurrah as we had!

None but them that have gone through just such a scrape as we had can tell how we all felt. For myself, I was fully paid for all my trials. My dear old Mother hung on my neck. I was her youngest. My father & sisters too could not help exalting over my safe return. I always thought until I went into the army [that] my father had a poor opinion of my ever doing much but staying around my mother as her spoiled pet, which I was. But after my first Campaign he never complained of me in that way.

This closes my account of my services in the war of 1812 & if the necessity ever exists may my sons as cheerfully follow in my footsteps that far at least, but there are a great many errors I have committed in my voyage through life. May they, looking at my course, avoid.

Andrew Jackson Edmondson
Holly Springs, Marshall Co, Mississippi
3rd Nov. 1858

Post-Script and References

The Daily Memphis Avalanche
Memphis, Tennessee · Monday, May 06, 1872, page 4

The Late Capt. Andrew Jackson Edmondson—Sketch of his Life.

The death of a citizen who, for more than three quarters of a century, has performed his part with honor to himself and with profit to the generation in which he lived, should not be permitted to pass without a tribute befitting his character, his services to his country, and his usefulness to his family, his neighbor, and countrymen. Captain Andrew Jackson Edmondson, was born in Davidson county, Tennessee, six miles from Nashville, on the 3d of April, 1793. He was the first child born in the State who was named in honor of the illustrious hero of the Hermitage, whom he followed to the tented field, as soon as he arrived at an age when he was able to carry a musket and discharge the duties of a soldier. Under the leadership of Jackson, he engaged in the campaign at Pensacola, the campaigns against the Creeks, and the last campaign against the British invaders, which resulted in their final discomfiture at New Orleans. On the night of the 23d of December, 1814, Capt. Edmondson was one of the two daring soldiers, who volunteered to reconnoiter the British lines, then in front of the position of Col. Williamson. In the darkness of

of Col. Williamson. In the darkness of night, the American commander was uncertain whether the force in his front were friends or foes, and hence requested the voluntary services of two of his men to develop the character and position of the unknown force. Captain Edmondson marched silently up to the very picket lines of the enemy, ascertained that he was in force, narrowly escaping capture. and after having drawn upon himself the concentrated fire of the whole line, which gave notice to the American army of the hostile design of the force before them. The American commander promptly attacked and routed the English, as the consequence of this discovery of the youthful Tennessee volunteer; after a much more sanguinary conflict than that which followed on the 8th of the following month.

Captain Edmondson returned to the peaceful pursuits of life, married and settled down to the occupation of a farmer, after this campaign. He removed to Pontotoc county, Mississippi, on the cession of North Mississippi to the Government by the Cherokees and Choctaws, and afterwards to his late residence, nine miles south of the city, in Shelby county, where he has reared a large and interesting family. The second son is our worthy fellow-citizen, Colonel James H. Edmondson, whose devotion to his father was and is of the most filial and affectionate character. Captain Edmonson has never ceased to maintain the most lively and earnest interest in public affairs. Being of the old school, now so rapidly passing away,

interest in public affairs. Being of the old school, now so rapidly passing away, who regarded their country with filial attachment. His active zeal in politics was not the result o any propensity to hold office himself, but sprung from the ardent desire to see the affairs of the country conducted and advanced by the exertions and services of able, honest and pure men, and upheld upon sound and correct principles. In the Democratic party he was always regarded as one of its safest, most sagacious, and far seeing counsellors and leaders. In the late unhappy civil struggle he expressed the most earnest interest, and freely urged his sons, kindred and friends to engage in the sanguinary struggle for success of State rights and Southern independence. His cheerfulness and vivacity to the last moment of his life were remarkable, being one of the most pleasing of companions, and drawing from the reportoire of well stored experience and accurate memory a fund of incidents and anecdotes, which rendered him the charm of the social circle and the welcome guest wherever he went. A gallant soldier, a a useful, energetic and influential citizen, an unblemished patriot, a most kind, indulgent and exemplary father and husband, a true friend and an honest man, justly pronounced the "noblest work of God," he has been gathered to his fathers at a ripe age, living and dying honored by his fellow-men, beloved by his neighbors, and mourned most sincerely and poignantly by his family and friends.

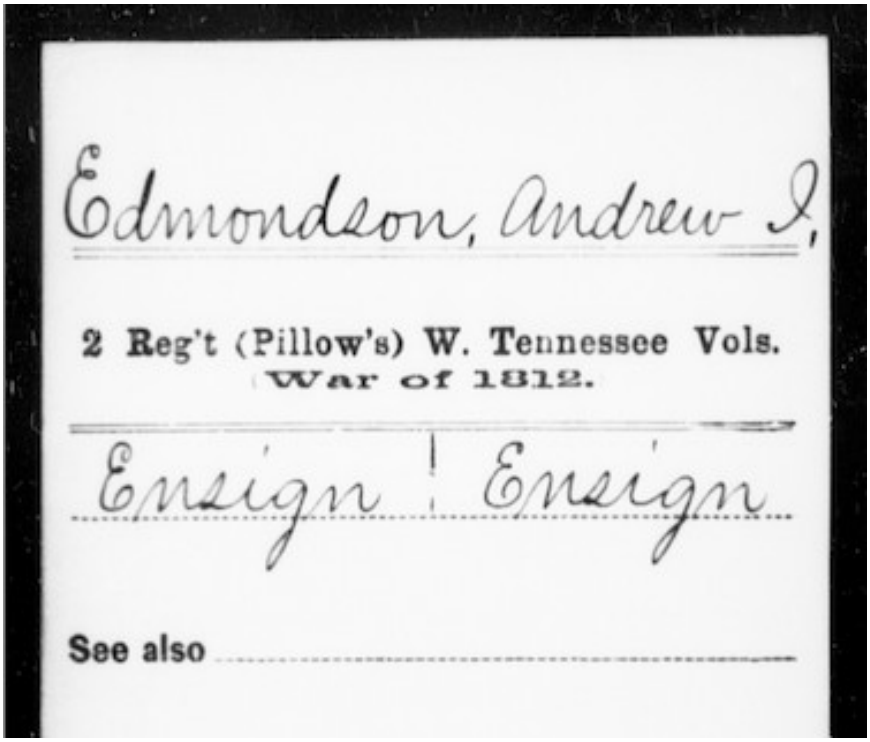
Edmondson Andrews

2 Reg't (Benton's) Tennessee Volunteers.
(War of 1812.)

Ensign Ensign

See also .....

.....


Edmondson, Andrew J.

2 Reg't (Pillow's) W. Tennessee Vols.
War of 1812.

Ensign ! Ensign

See also

Edmondson, Andrew J.

2 Reg't (Pillow's) W. Tennessee Vols.
War of 1812.

Ensign ! Ensign

See also

GENERAL INDEX CARD.
☞ This card must not be taken from the files.
(382)

The Creek War Background

WIKIPEDIA
The Free Encyclopedia

Creek War

The **Creek War** (also the **Red Stick War** or the **Creek Civil War**) was a regional conflict between opposing Native American factions, European powers, and the United States during the early 19th century. The Creek War began as a conflict within the tribes of the Muscogee, but the United States quickly became involved. British traders and Spanish colonial officials in Florida supplied the Red Sticks with weapons and equipment due to their shared interest in preventing the expansion of the United States into regions under their control.

The Creek War took place largely in modern-day Alabama and along the Gulf Coast. Major engagements of the war involved the United States military and the Red Sticks (or Upper Creeks), a Muscogee tribal faction who resisted U.S. colonial expansion. The United States formed an alliance with the traditional enemies of the Muscogee, the Choctaw and Cherokee Nations, as well as the Lower Creeks faction of the Muscogee. During the hostilities, the Red Sticks allied themselves to the British. A Red Stick force aided British Naval Officer Alexander Cochrane's advance towards New Orleans. The Creek War effectively ended in August 1814 with the signing of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, when Andrew Jackson forced the Creek confederacy to surrender more than 21 million acres in what is now southern Georgia and central Alabama.[1]

According to historian John K. Mahon, the Creek War "was as much a civil war among Creeks as between red and white".[2] The war was also a continuation of Tecumseh's War in the Old Northwest, and, although a conflict framed within the centuries-long American Indian Wars, it is usually more identified with, and considered an integral part of, the War of 1812 by historians.

Creek War	
Part of the War of 1812 and the American Indian Wars	
William Weatherford surrendering to Andrew Jackson	
Date	July 22, 1813 – August 9, 1814 (1 year, 2 weeks and 4 days)
Location	American South
Result	United States victory ▪ Treaty of Fort Jackson
Territorial changes	Muscogee cede 22 million acres of land in Alabama and Georgia to the United States
Belligerents	
United States Muscogee Cherokee Choctaw	**Red Sticks** United Kingdom Spanish Empire Tecumseh's confederacy
Commanders and leaders	
Andrew Jackson John Floyd Ferdinand	William Weatherford

Background

Creek militancy was a response to increasing United States cultural and territorial encroachment into their traditional lands. But the war's alternate designation as "the Creek Civil

War" comes from the divisions within the tribe over cultural, political, economic, and geographic matters. At the time of the Creek War, the Upper Creeks controlled the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama Rivers that lead to Mobile; while the Lower Creeks controlled the Chattahoochee River, which flows into Apalachicola Bay. The Lower Creek were trading partners with the United States and, unlike the Upper Creeks, had adopted more of their cultural practices.[3]

Claiborne John Coffee William McIntosh Pushmataha Mushulatubbee	Menawa Peter McQueen
Strength	
~7,000	~4,000
Casualties and losses	
~584 killed	~1,597 killed

Territorial conflict

The provinces of East and West Florida, governed by Spanish and British firms like Panton, Leslie, and Co., provided most of the European trading goods into Creek country. Pensacola and Mobile, in Spanish Florida, controlled the outlets of the U.S. Mississippi Territory's rivers.[4]

Territorial conflicts between France, Spain, Britain, and the United States along the Gulf Coast that had previously helped the Creeks to maintain control over most of the United States' southwestern territory had shifted dramatically due to the Napoleonic Wars, the West Florida Rebellion, and the War of 1812. This made long-standing intra-Creek trade and political alliances more tenuous than ever.

In the Treaty of New York (1790), Treaty of Colerain (1796), Treaty of Fort Wilkinson (1802), and Treaty of Washington (1805), the Creek ceded parts of their Georgia territory east of the Ocmulgee River. In 1804, the United States claimed the city of Mobile under the Mobile Act. The 1805 treaty with the Creek also allowed the creation of the Federal Road that linked Washington, D.C. to the newly acquired port city of New Orleans, which partially stretched through Creek territories.

During and after the American Revolution, the United States wished to maintain the Indian Line which had been established by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Indian Line created a boundary for colonial settlement in order to prevent illegal encroachment into Indian lands, and also helped the U.S. government maintain control over Indian trade. Still, traders and settlers often violated the terms of the treaties establishing the Indian Line, and frontier settlement by colonists in Indian lands was one of the arguments the United States used to expand its territory.

These increasing territorial grabs westward into Creek territory (which included parts of Spanish Florida), coupled with the Louisiana Purchase (which neither the British nor the Spanish recognized at the time), compelled the British and Spanish governments to strengthen existing alliances with the Creek. In 1810, following the occupation of Baton Rouge during the West Florida Rebellion, the United States sent an expeditionary force to occupy Mobile. As a result, Mobile was jointly occupied by weak detachments of American and Spanish soldiers until Secretary of War John Armstrong ordered General James Wilkinson to force the Spanish to turn over control of the city in February 1813.

The Patriot Army captured parts of East Florida from 1811–1815. After Fort Charlotte was surrendered in April, the Spanish focused on protecting Pensacola from the United States.[5] The Spanish decided to support the Creek in an attack on the United States and in defense of their homeland, but were greatly hindered by their weak position in the Floridas and lack of supplies even for their own army.

Cultural assimilation and religious revival

The splintering of the Creek peoples along progressive and nativist lines had roots dating back to the eighteenth century, but came to a head after 1811.[6][7] Red Stick militancy was a response to the economic and cultural crises in Creek society caused by the adoption of Western trade goods and culture. From the sixteenth century, the Creek had formed successful trade alliances with European empires, but the drastic fall in the price of deerskin from 1783 to 1793 made it more difficult for individuals to repay their debt, while at the same time the assimilation process made American goods more necessary.[8] The Red Sticks particularly resisted the "civilization" programs administered by the U.S. Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins, who had stronger alliances among the towns of the Lower Creek. Some of the "progressive" Creek began to adopt American farming practices as their game disappeared, and as more Anglo settlers assimilated into Creek towns and families.[9]

Painting (1805) of Benjamin Hawkins on his plantation, instructing Muscogee Creek in European technology

Leaders of the Lower Creek towns in present-day Georgia included Bird Tail King (*Fushatchie Mico*) of Cusseta, Little Prince (*Tustunnuggee Hopoi*) of Broken Arrow, and William McIntosh (*Tunstunuggee Hutkee*, White Warrior) of Coweta.[9] Many of the most prominent Creek chiefs before the Creek War were "mixed-bloods", like William McGillivray and William McIntosh (who were on opposing sides of the Creek Civil War).

Before the Creek War and the War of 1812, most U.S. politicians saw removal to be the only alternative to the assimilation of native peoples into Western culture. The Creeks, on the other hand, blended their own culture with adopted trade goods and political terms, and had no intention of abandoning their land.[10]

The Americanization of the Creeks was more prevalent in western Georgia among the Lower Creeks than in Upper Creek towns, and came from internal and external processes. The U.S. government's and Benjamin Hawkins' pressure on the Creeks to assimilate stood in contrast to the more natural blending of cultures that came from a long tradition of cohabitation and cultural appropriation, beginning with white traders in Indian country.[11]

The Shawnee leader Tecumseh came to the area to encourage the peoples to join his movement to throw the Americans out of Native American territories. Previously, he had united tribes in the Northwest (Ohio and related territories) to fight against U.S. settlers after the War for Independence. In 1811, Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa attended the annual Creek council at Tukabatchee. Tecumseh delivered an hour-long speech to an audience of 5,000 Creeks as well as an American

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creek_War#:~:text=Jackson forced the Creek to,in the War of 1812.

delegation including Hawkins. Although the Americans dismissed Tecumseh as non-threatening, his message of resistance to Anglo encroachment was well received among Creek and Seminole, especially among more conservative and traditional elders and young men.[12]

Mobilization of recruits to Tecumseh's cause was bolstered by the Great Comet of 1811 and the New Madrid earthquakes of 1811–12, which were taken as evidence of Tecumseh's supernatural powers. The war party rallied around prophets who had traveled with Tecumseh and remained with the Creek, influencing newly converted Creek religious leaders.[13] Peter McQueen of *Talisi* (now Tallassee, Alabama); Josiah Francis (Hillis Hadjo) (Francis the Prophet) of *Autauga*, a Koasati town; and High-head Jim (*Cusseta Tustunnuggee*) and Paddy Walsh, both Alabamas, were among the spiritual leaders responding to rising concerns and the prophetic message.[14] The militant faction of Creek stood in opposition of the Creek Confederacy Council's official policies, particularly in regard to foreign relations with the United States. The rising war party began to be called "Red Sticks" at this time—in Creek culture, red 'sticks' or clubs symbolize war, while white sticks represent peace.[15]

Course of the war

Creeks who did not support the war became targets for the prophets and their followers, and began to be murdered in their sleep or burned alive.[13] Warriors of the prophets' parties also began to attack the property of their enemies, burning plantations and destroying livestock.[16] The first major offensive of the civil war was the Red Stick attack on the Upper Creek town, and seat of the council, at Tuckabatchee on July 22, 1813.[7]

Map of battle sites in the Creek War

In Georgia, a war party of "friendly" Creek organized under William McIntosh, Big Warrior, and Little Prince attacked 150 Uchee warriors who were traveling to meet up with Red Stick Creeks in the Mississippi Territory. After this offensive in the beginning of October 1813, the party burned a number of Red Stick towns before retiring to Coweta.[17]

Although there were a few limited attacks on whites in 1812 and early 1813, Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins did not believe that the disruption in the Creek Nation or the increasing war dances were a cause for concern. But in February 1813, a small war party of Red Sticks, led by Little Warrior, were returning from Detroit when they killed two families of settlers along the Ohio River. Hawkins demanded that the Creek turn over Little Warrior and his six companions, the standard operating procedure between the nations up to that point.[18]

The first clashes between the Red Sticks and United States forces occurred on July 27, 1813. A group of territorial militia intercepted a party of Red Sticks returning from Spanish Florida, where they had acquired arms from the Spanish governor at Pensacola. The Red Sticks escaped and the soldiers looted what they found. Seeing the Americans looting, the Creek regrouped and attacked and defeated the Americans. The Battle of Burnt Corn, as the exchange became known, broadened the Creek Civil War to include American forces.[19]

Chiefs Peter McQueen and William Weatherford led an attack on Fort Mims, north of Mobile, on August 30, 1813. The Red Sticks' goal was to strike at mixed-blood Creek of the Tensaw settlement who had taken refuge at the fort. The warriors attacked the fort and killed a total of 400 to 500 people, including women and children and numerous white settlers. The attack became known as the Fort Mims massacre and became a rallying cause for American militia.[20]

The Red Sticks subsequently attacked other forts in the area, including Fort Sinquefield. Panic spread among settlers throughout the Southwestern frontier, and they demanded U.S. government intervention. Federal forces were busy fighting the British and Northern Woodland tribes, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh in the Northwest. Affected states called up militias to deal with the threat.

After the Battle of Burnt Corn, U.S. Secretary of War John Armstrong notified General Thomas Pinckney, Commander of the 6th Military District, that the U.S. was prepared to take action against the Creek Confederacy. Furthermore, if Spain were found to be supporting the Creeks, an assault on Pensacola would ensue.[21]

Brigadier General Ferdinand Claiborne, a militia commander in the Mississippi Territory, was concerned about the weakness of his sector on the western border of the Creek territory, and advocated preemptive strikes. But Major General Thomas Flourney, commander of 7th Military District, refused his requests. He intended to carry out a defensive American strategy. Meanwhile, settlers in that region sought refuge in blockhouses.[22]

The Tennessee legislature authorized Governor Willie Blount to raise 5,000 militia for a three-month tour of duty. Blount called out a force of 2,500 West Tennessee men under Colonel Andrew Jackson to "repel an approaching invasion ... and to afford aid and relief to ... Mississippi Territory".[23] He also summoned a force of 2,500 from East Tennessee under Major General John Alexander Cocke. Jackson and Cocke were not ready to move until early October.[24]

In addition to the state actions, U.S. Indian agent Hawkins organized the friendly Lower Creek under Major William McIntosh, an Indian chief, to aid the Georgia and Tennessee militias in actions against the Red Sticks. At the request of Chief Federal Agent Return J. Meigs (called "White Eagle" by the Indians for the color of his hair), the Cherokee Nation voted to join the Americans in their fight against the Red Sticks. Under the command of Chief Major Ridge, 200 Cherokee fought with the Tennessee Militia under Colonel Andrew Jackson.

At most, the Red Stick force consisted of 4,000 warriors, possessing perhaps 1,000 muskets. They had never been involved in a large-scale war, not even against neighboring American Indians. Early in the war, General Cocke observed that arrows "form a very principal part of the enemy's arms for warfare, every man having a bow with a bundle of arrows, which is used after the first fire with the gun until a leisure time for loading offers".[25] Many Creek tried to remain friendly to the United States, but, after Fort Mims, few European Americans in the region distinguished between friendly and unfriendly Creeks.[26]

The Holy Ground (Econochaca), located near the junction of the Alabama and Coosa Rivers, was the heart of the Red Stick Confederation.[27] It was about 150 miles (240 km) from the nearest supply point available to any of the three American armies. The easiest attack route was from Georgia through the line of forts on the frontier and then along a good road that led to the Upper Creek towns

near the Holy Ground, including nearby Hickory Ground. Another route was north from Mobile along the Alabama River. Jackson's route of advance was south from Tennessee through a mountainous and pathless terrain.[28]

Georgia campaign

By August, the Georgia Volunteer Army and state militia had been mobilized in anticipation of war with the Creeks. The news of Fort Mims first reached Georgia on September 16, and was taken as legal grounds to begin a military offensive.[29] In addition, Benjamin Hawkins wrote to Brigadier General John Floyd on September 30 that the Red Stick war party had "received 25 small guns" at Pensacola.[30] The immediate concern of the force was the defense of Georgia's "Indian Line", separating Indian territory from U.S. territory at the Ocmulgee River.

The proximity of Jasper and Jones counties to hostile Creek towns resulted in a regiment of Georgia volunteer militia under Major General David Adams. John Floyd was made general of the main Georgia army (in September 1812 and numbering 2,362 men). The Georgia Army was aided by Cherokee and independent Creek allies, as well as a number of Georgia volunteer militia. Floyd's task was to advance to the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and join the Army of Tennessee.[31]

Due to the state's failure to secure supplies early enough in the year, Floyd gained a few months to train and drill the men at Fort Hawkins. On November 24, General Floyd crossed the Chattahoochee and established Fort Mitchell, where he was joined by 300-400 Creek from Coweta, organized under McIntosh. With these allies and 950 of his men, Floyd began his advance towards the juncture of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers where he was supposed to rendezvous with Jackson. His first target was the major town of Autossee on the Tallapoosa River, a Red Stick stronghold only 20 miles from the Coosa River.[32] On November 29, he attacked Autossee. Floyd's losses were 11 killed and 54 wounded. Floyd estimated that 200 Creek were killed.[33] Having achieved the destruction of the town, Floyd returned to Fort Mitchell.

The second westward advance of Floyd's troops departed Fort Mitchell with a force of 1,100 militia and 400 friendly Creek. Along the way they fortified Fort Bainbridge and Fort Hull on the Federal Road. On January 26, 1813, they set up a camp on the Callabee Creek near the abandoned site of Autossee. Red Stick chiefs William Weatherford, Paddy Walsh, High-head Jim, and William McGillivray raised a combined force of at least 1,300 warriors to stop the advance. This was the largest combined force raised by the Creek during the entire war.[34] On January 29, the Red Sticks launched an attack on the American camp at dawn. After daylight, Floyd's army repulsed the attack. Casualty figures vary for Floyd's force, from 17 to 22 killed, and 132 to 147 wounded. Floyd estimated Red Stick casualties as 37 killed, including Chief High-head Jim. Georgia retreated to Fort Mitchell with Floyd, who was severely wounded in the leg. The Battle of Calebee Creek was Georgia's last offensive operation of the war.[35]

Mississippi militia

In October, General Thomas Flournoy organized a force of about 1,000—consisting of the Third United States Infantry, militia, volunteers, and Choctaw Indians—at Fort Stoddert. General Claiborne, ordered to lay waste to Creek property near the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers,

advanced from Fort St. Stephen. He achieved some destruction but no military engagement.[36][37] At roughly the same time, Captain Samuel Dale left Fort Madison (near Suggsville) going southward to the Alabama River. On November 12 a small party rowed out to intercept a war canoe. Dale wound up alone in the canoe in hand-to-hand combat with four warriors, an encounter which became known as the Canoe Fight.[38]

Continuing to a point about 85 miles (140 km) north of Fort Stoddert, Claiborne established Fort Claiborne. On December 23, he encountered a small force at the Holy Ground and burned 260 houses. William Weatherford was nearly captured during this engagement. Casualties for the Mississippians were 1 killed and 6 wounded. 30 Creek soldiers were killed in the engagement, however. Because of supply shortages, Claiborne withdrew to Fort St. Stephens.[39]

North Carolina and South Carolina militia

Brigadier General Joseph Graham's brigade of troops from North and South Carolina, including Colonel Reuben Nash's South Carolina militia, deployed along the Georgia frontier to deal with the Red Sticks. Colonel Nash's South Carolina regiment of volunteer militia traveled from South Carolina at the end of January 1814. The militia marched to the start of the Federal Road in Augusta, Georgia, walking to Fort Benjamin Hawkins (in modern Macon, Georgia) en route to reinforce the various forts including Fort Mitchell (in modern Phenix City, Alabama), Fort Bainbridge, Fort Hull, and Fort Decatur.[40] Other companies in the Nash's regiment were at Fort Mitchell by July 1814. Graham's brigade participated in only a few skirmishes before returning home.

Tennessee campaign

Although Jackson's mission was to defeat the Creek, his larger objective was to move on Pensacola. Jackson's plan was to move south, build roads, destroy Upper Creek towns, and then later proceed to Mobile to stage an attack on Spanish-held Pensacola. He had two problems: logistics and short enlistments. When Jackson began his advance, the Tennessee River was low, making it difficult to move supplies, and there was little forage for his horses.[41]

On October 10, Jackson, along with 2,500 troops, set out on the expedition, his arm in a sling. Jackson established Fort Strother as a supply base. On November 3, his top cavalry officer, Brigadier General John Coffee, defeated a band of Red Sticks at the Battle of Tallushatchee. It was a brutal battle, and many Red Sticks, including some women and children, were killed.[42] After this, Jackson received a call for help from 150 allied Creeks besieged by 700 Red Stick warriors. Jackson marched his troops to relieve the siege, and won another decisive victory at the Battle of Talladega on November 9.[43]

After Talladega, however, Jackson was plagued by supply shortages and discipline problems arising from his men's short term enlistments. John Alexander Cocke, with the East Tennessee Militia, took the field on October 12. His route of march was from Knoxville to Chattanooga and then along the Coosa River toward Fort Strother. Because of rivalry between the East and West Tennessee militias, Cocke was in no hurry to join Jackson, particularly after he angered Jackson by mistakenly attacking a friendly village on November 17. When he finally reached Fort Strother on December 12, the East Tennessee men only had 10 days remaining on their enlistments. Jackson had no choice but to

dismiss them.[44][45] Furthermore, Brigadier General Coffee, who had returned to Tennessee for remounts, wrote Jackson that the cavalry had deserted. By the end of 1813, Jackson was down to a single regiment whose enlistments were due to expire in mid-January.

U.S. troops storm the breastworks at Horseshoe Bend

Although Governor Blount had ordered a new levee of 2,500 troops, Jackson would not be up to full strength until the end of February. When a draft of 900 raw recruits arrived unexpectedly on January 14, Jackson was down to a cadre of 103 and Coffee, who had been "abandoned by his men".[46][47][48]

Since new men had enlistment contracts of only sixty days, Jackson decided to get the most out of his untried force. He departed Fort Strother on January 17 and marched toward the village of Emuckfaw to cooperate with the Georgia Militia. However, this was a risky decision. It was a long march through difficult terrain against a numerically superior force, the men were inexperienced, undisciplined, and insubordinate, and a defeat would have prolonged the war. After two indecisive battles at Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek, Jackson returned to Fort Strother and did not resume the offensive until mid-March.[49]

The arrival of the 39th United States Infantry on February 6, 1814, provided Jackson a disciplined core for his force, which ultimately grew to about 5,000 men. After Governor Blount ordered the second draft of Tennessee militia, Cocke, with a force of 2,000 six-month men, once again marched from Knoxville to Fort Strother. Cocke's men mutinied when they learned that Jackson's men only had three-month enlistments. Cocke tried to pacify his men, but Jackson misunderstood the situation and ordered Cocke's arrest as an instigator. The East Tennessee militia reported to Fort Strother without further comment on their term of service. Cocke was later cleared.[50]

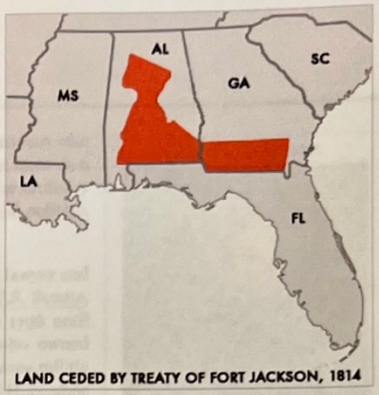
Jackson spent the next month building roads and training his force. In mid-March, he moved against the Red Stick force concentrated on the Tallapoosa at Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend). He first moved south along the Coosa, about half the distance to the Creek position, and established a new outpost at Fort Williams. Leaving another garrison there, he then moved on Tohopeka with a force of about 3,000 effective fighting men augmented by 600 Cherokee and Lower Creek allies. The Battle of Horseshoe Bend, which occurred on March 27, was a decisive victory for Jackson, effectively ending the Red Stick resistance.[51]

Results

On August 9, 1814, Andrew Jackson forced headmen of both the Upper and Lower towns of Creek to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Despite protest of the Creek chiefs who had fought alongside Jackson, the Creek Nation ceded 21,086,793 acres (85,335 km²) of land—approximately half of present-day Alabama and part of southern Georgia—to the United States government. Even though the Creek War was largely a civil war among the Creek, Andrew Jackson recognized no difference between his Lower Creek allies and the Red Sticks who fought against him. He took the lands of both for what he

considered the security needs of the United States.[1] Jackson forced the Creek to cede 1.9 million acres (7,700 km²) that was also claimed as hunting grounds of the Cherokee Nation, who had fought as U.S. allies during the Creek War as well.[52]

With the Red Sticks subdued, Jackson turned his focus on the Gulf Coast region in the War of 1812. On his own initiative, he invaded Spanish Florida and drove a British force out of Pensacola.[53] He defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. In 1818, Jackson again invaded Florida, where some of the Red Stick leaders had fled, an event known as the First Seminole War.



Territory ceded by the Creek Confederation in 1814 under the Treaty of Fort Jackson

As a result of these victories, Jackson became a national figure and eventually was elected the seventh President of the United States in 1829. As president, Andrew Jackson advocated the Indian Removal Act, passed by Congress in 1830, which authorized negotiation of treaties for exchange of land and payment of annuities, and authorized forceful removal of the Southeastern tribes to prescribed Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River, an ethnic cleansing now known as the Trail of Tears.

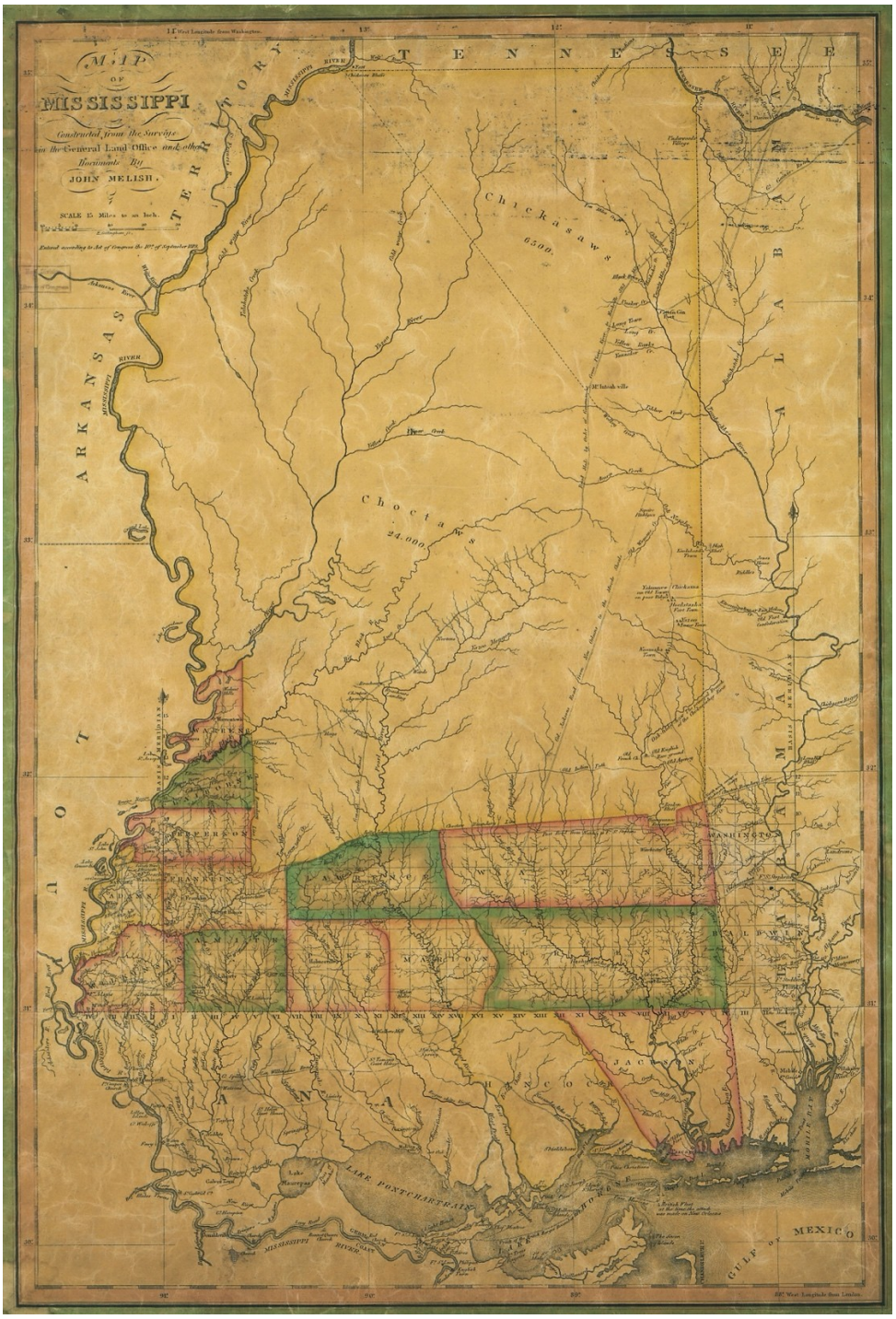
See also

- Indian Campaign Medal
- List of Indian massacres
- George Mayfield, interpreter and spy for Andrew Jackson, later honored by the Creek for his integrity during treaty negotiations

References

1. Green (1998), *Politics of Removal*, p. 43
2. Mahon, John K., *The History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (1967), University of Florida Press. p. 22
3. Waselkov, 4-5.
4. Braund, Deerskins and Duffels.
5. Owsley, 18-24.
6. Braund 2012, p. 12,165.
7. Thrower. "Casualties and Consequences of the Creek War," in Rethinking Tohopeka, 12.
8. Braund, 178.
9. Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Politics_of_Indian_Removal.html?id=9ORecl5zNlgC), Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1985, pp. 38-39, accessed 11 September 2011
10. Waselkov, 73.
11. Braund, Deerskins and Duffels, 58.
12. Owsley, 11-13.
13. Owsley, 14-15.

Map of Mississippi 1820[59]



Muscle Shoals

Gaines Trace

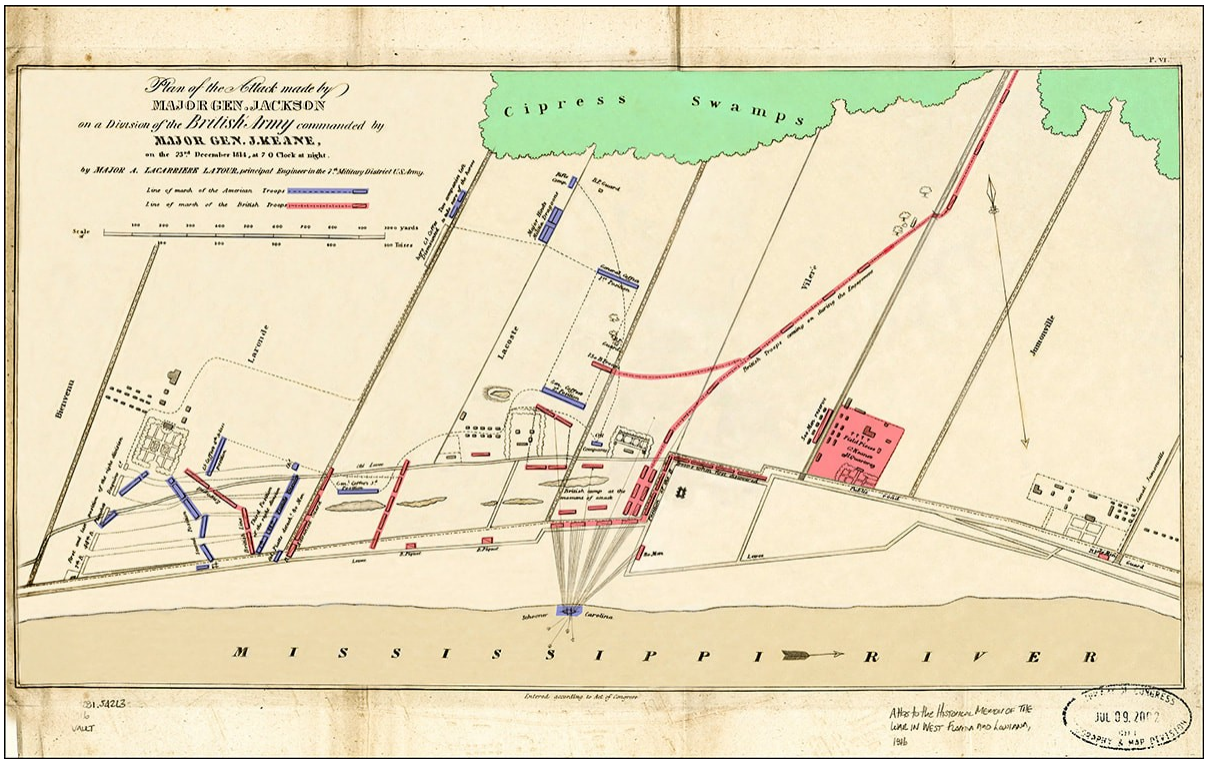
[59] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Mississippi_-_constructed_from_the_surveys_in_the_General_Land_Office_and_other_documents_LOC_2001626031.jpg

Battle of New Orleans

Affair Below New Orleans, December 23rd, 1814

> "*The greater significance of this battle (23rd of December) and the greater loss to the British was the passage of time allowing General Andrew Jackson to gather more troops and to complete fortifications for the defense at Chalmette where victory over the British was achieved on January 8th.*" Historical Memoir of the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, Major A. Lacarriere Latour

On the morning of December 23 1814, British General Keane and a vanguard of 1,800 British soldiers reached the east bank of the Mississippi River 9 miles south of New Orleans after marching from Lake Borgne. It was here that the first major blunder of the British campaign was made. General Keane could have marched into the undefended city by advancing for a few hours up the river road, but he decided to encamp at Lacoste's Plantation, rest his troops, and wait for reinforcements.


Plan of the Attack made by
MAJOR GEN.l JACKSON
on a Division of the British Army commanded by
MAJOR GEN.l J.KEANE,
Cipress Swamps
M I S S I S S I P P I R I V E R

General Jackson learned of the advanced position of the British and realized he couldn't wait till morning to confront the British forces. General Jackson sent out an order to his commanders to muster their troops. That evening at 7:00 Jackson attacked from the north with 2,131 men in a brief three-pronged assault on the unsuspecting British troops. Jackson then pulled his forces back to the

Rodriguez Canal, about 4 miles south of the city. The Americans suffered 24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 missing, while the British reported their losses as 46 killed, 167 wounded, and 64 missing.

It was General Jackson's decision to strike first that gave Jackson the time to withdraw his forces upriver to within 4 miles of the city. Fortification of the Rodriguez Canal began on the morning of the 24th. The canal became known as the Jackson Line that stopped the British, and forced their retreat back to the Fleet

The American Navy bought the USS Carolina in 1812 while her keel was still being laid down in Charleston. It was the Carolina that destroyed Lafitte's stronghold in Barataria Bay near the mouth of the Mississippi River. The USS Carolina slipped down the Mississippi River on the evening of Dec 23,1814, and quietly laid anchor on the opposite side of the river from the British encampment. Her crew began shelling the British troops with grapeshot and cannon balls in what the soldiers thought was going to be a restful night.

WIKIPEDIA
The Free Encyclopedia
WIKIPEDIA

Battle of New Orleans order of battle: American

The following units and commanders of the American armed forces under Andrew Jackson fought at the Battle of New Orleans during War of 1812. The British order of battle is shown separately.

Abbreviations used

Military rank

- **MG** = Major General
- **BG** = Brigadier General
- **Col** = Colonel
- **Ltc** = Lieutenant Colonel
- **Maj** = Major
- **Cpt** = Captain
- **Lt** = 1st Lieutenant

Other

- **w** = wounded
- **k** = killed
- **m** = missing

Forces

7th Military District: MG Andrew Jackson

General Staff

- Advisers to General Jackson: Brigadier General Jean Joseph Amable Humbert, Governor William C. C. Claiborne[1]
- *Aides-de-camp*: Abner Lawson Duncan, John Randolph Grymes, Edward Livingston
- *Aide-de-camp* and judge advocate, Major Auguste Davezac
- Volunteer chief of engineers: Arsène Lacarrière-Latour

Division	Brigade	Regiments and Others
Left Wing[2] MG William Carroll	Carroll's Brigade[3] MG William Carroll	▪ 1st Regiment West Tennessee Militia: Col William Metcalf ▪ 2nd Regiment West Tennessee Militia: Col John Cocke ▪ 3rd Regiment West Tennessee Militia: Col James Raulston
	Coffee's Brigade[3] BG John Coffee	▪ 1st Regiment West Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Gunmen: Col Robert Dyer ▪ 2nd Regiment West Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Gunmen: Col Thomas Williamson ▪ Jugeant's Choctaws: Maj Pierre Jugeant
	Adair's Brigade[4] BG John Adair	▪ Slaughter's Kentucky Militia: Ltc Gabriel Slaughter[5][6] ▪ Gray's Kentucky Militia Regiment: Ltc John Davis (detached to West Bank)[7] ▪ Mitchusson's Kentucky Militia Regiment: Ltc William Mitchusson[8]
Right Wing[2] Col George T. Ross	Louisiana Militia and Volunteers[9] MG Jacques Villeré Col Pierre de la Ronde Jean Michel Fortier[10]	▪ Battalion of Orleans (city): Maj Jean Baptiste Plauché ▪ Lacoste's Free Men of Color: Maj Pierre Lacoste[11] ▪ Daquin's Free Men of Color: Maj Louis Daquin ▪ City Rifles: Cpt Thomas Beale ▪ Baratarians (gunners from Jean Lafitte's privateer crews) ▪ Three regiments of Louisiana Militia on West Bank with General Morgan[12]
	U.S. Regular Army[13]	▪ 7th U.S. Infantry: Maj Henry D. Peire ▪ 44th U.S. Infantry: Col George T. Ross ▪ U.S. Marines: Maj Daniel Carmick ▪ Detachment, 1st U.S. Dragoons (there were no US Dragoons present at the Battle of New Orleans. Pickles is incorrect)
Reporting directly	West Bank[14] BG David B. Morgan	▪ Naval Battalion: Commodore Daniel Patterson ▪ 2nd Louisiana Militia Brigade: Maj Paul Arnaud[12] ▪ Gray's Kentucky Militia Regiment: Ltc John Davis[12] ▪ Additional Reinforcements (400 militiamen) from East Bank: Gen. Humbert[15][16]
	Reserves[17]	▪ Mississippi Dragoons: Maj Thomas Hinds[18] ▪ Detachment, 1st U.S. Dragoons: Ogden (Ogden was not a Dragoon officer and there were no US Dragoons at this battle. Ogden was a New Orleans resident that led a group of mounted local guides. Also missing from the order of battle by Pickles are the Feliciana Dragoons. These, along with the Mississippi Dragoons were the only "dragoons" at the battle) ▪ Battalion, Kentucky Militia: Maj Reuben Harrison

References

WIKIPEDIA
The Free Encyclopedia
WIKIPEDIA

Battle of New Orleans

(Redirected from Battle of new orleans)

The **Battle of New Orleans** was fought on January 8, 1815, between the British Army under Major General Sir Edward Pakenham and the United States Army under Brevet Major General Andrew Jackson,[3] roughly 5 miles (8 km) southeast of the French Quarter of New Orleans,[7] in the current suburb of Chalmette, Louisiana.[1][3]

The battle was the climax of the five-month Gulf Campaign (September 1814 to February 1815) by Britain to try to take New Orleans, West Florida, and possibly Louisiana Territory which began at the First Battle of Fort Bowyer. Britain started the New Orleans campaign on December 14, 1814, at the Battle of Lake Borgne and numerous skirmishes and artillery duels happened in the weeks leading up to the final battle.

The battle took place 15 days after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, which formally ended the War of 1812, on December 24, 1814, though it would not be ratified by the United States (and therefore did not take effect) until February 16, 1815, as news of the agreement had not yet reached the United States from Europe.[8] Despite a British advantage in numbers, training, and experience, the American forces defeated a poorly executed assault in slightly more than 30 minutes. The Americans suffered 71 casualties, while the British suffered over 2,000, including the deaths of the commanding general, Major General Sir Edward Pakenham, and his second-in-command, Major General Samuel Gibbs.

Battle of New Orleans

Part of the War of 1812

The battle as painted by Jean Hyacinthe de Laclotte, a member of the Louisiana Militia, based on his sketches made at the scene

Date	January 8, 1815[1]
Location	Near New Orleans, Louisiana 29°56′33″N 89°59′27″W
Result	American victory

Belligerents

United States	United Kingdom

Commanders and leaders

Andrew Jackson	Edward Pakenham †
Daniel Patterson	Samuel Gibbs (DOW)
Pushmataha[2]	John Keane (WIA)
Jean Lafitte	Robert Rennie †

Strength

c. 5,700[3]	c. 8,000[3][a]

Casualties and losses

13 dead	291 dead
39 wounded	1,262 wounded
19 missing or captured[4][5]	484 missing or captured[6]
Total: 71	*Total: 2,037*[6]

Background

In August 1814, Britain and the United States began negotiations to end the War of 1812.[9] However, British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies Henry Bathurst issued Pakenham's secret orders on October 24, 1814, commanding him to continue the war even if he heard rumors of peace. Bathurst expressed concern that the

hearing difficulties, talked loudly and mentioned that 20,000 troops were under Jackson's command. There was nothing in the actions of the British commanders to indicate they believed they were faced with superior numbers.[26]

Disembarkation by the British

Sixteen hundred British soldiers under the command of General John Keane were rowed 60 miles west from Cat Island to Pea Island (possibly now Pearl Island), situated about 30 miles (48 km) east of New Orleans. It took six days and nights to ferry the troops, each transit taking around ten hours.[27]

There were three potential routes to the east of the Mississippi that the British could take, in addition to traversing up the Mississippi itself. [24] Rather than a slow approach to New Orleans up the Mississippi River, the British chose to advance on an overland route.[28] The first route was to take the Rigolets passage into Lake Pontchartrain, and thence to disembark two miles north of the city. One hindrance was the fort at Petit Coquilles at the Rigolets passage.

The second option was to row to the Plain of Gentilly via the Bayou Chef Menteur, and to take the Chef Menteur Road that went from the Rigolets to the city. It was narrow, and could be easily blocked. Jackson was aware of this, and had it well guarded.[24]

The third option was to head to Bayou Bienvenue, then Bayou Mazant and via the Villeré Canal to disembark at a point one mile from the Mississippi and seven miles south of the city. This latter option was taken by Keane.[24]

Andrew Lambert notes that Keane squandered a passing opportunity to succeed, when he decided to not take the open road from the Rigolets to New Orleans by way of Bayou Chef Menteur.[28] Reilly observes that there has been a general acceptance that Cochrane cajoled Keane into a premature and ill-advised attack, but there is no evidence to support this theory.[29] Codrington's correspondence does imply that the first option was intended to be followed by Cochrane, based upon inaccurate map details, as documented by Cochrane's papers. The shallow waters of the narrow passes of the Rigolets and the Chef Menteur could not take any vessel drawing eight feet or more.[30]

A further hindrance was the lack of shallow draft vessels, which Cochrane had requested, yet the Admiralty had refused.[31] As a consequence, even when using all shallow boats, it was not possible to transport more than 2,000 men at a time.[32][24][30]

Villeré Plantation

Affair Below New Orleans: December 23, 1814[33]

On the morning of December 23, Keane and a vanguard of 1,800 British soldiers reached the east bank of the Mississippi River, 9 miles (14 km) south of New Orleans.[34] They could have attacked the city by advancing a few hours up the undefended river road, but Keane decided to encamp at Lacoste's Plantation[35] and wait for the arrival of reinforcements.[36] The

British invaded the home of Major Gabriel Villeré, but he escaped through a window[36][37] and hastened to warn General Jackson of the approaching army and the position of their encampment.[38]

Commencement of battle

Plan of the city and suburbs of New Orleans from an 1815 survey.[39]

Jackson's raid on the British camp

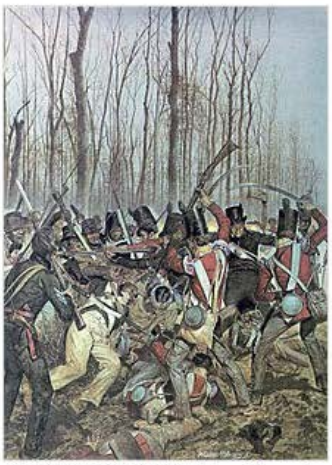
Following Villeré's intelligence report, on the evening of December 23, Jackson led 2,131[40] men in a brief three-pronged assault from the north on the unsuspecting British troops, who were resting in their camp. He then pulled his forces back to the Rodriguez Canal, about 4 miles (6.4 km) south of the city. The Americans suffered 24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 missing,[41] while the British reported their losses as 46 killed, 167 wounded, and 64 missing.[42][d] The action was consequential, since at December 25 Pakenham's forces now had an effective strength of 5,933 out of a headcount of 6,660 soldiers.[44] Historian Robert Quimby states that the British won a "tactical victory, which enabled them to maintain their position",[45] but they "were disabused of their expectation of an easy conquest".[46] As a consequence, the Americans gained time to transform the canal into a heavily fortified earthwork.[47]

British reconnaissance-in-force

On Christmas Day, General Edward Pakenham arrived on the battlefield. Two days later he received nine large naval artillery guns from Admiral Cochrane along with a hot shot furnace to silence the two U.S. Navy warships, the sloop-of-war USS *Louisiana* and the schooner USS *Carolina*, that were harassing the army for 24 hours per day the past week from the Mississippi River. The *Carolina* was sunk in a massive explosion by the British, but the *Louisiana* survived thanks to the Baratarian pirates aboard getting into rowboats and tying the ship to the rowboats and rowing it further north away from the British artillery. The *Louisiana* was not able to sail northward under her own power due to the attack. These two vessels were now no longer a danger to the British, but Jackson ordered the ships' surviving guns and crew to be stationed on the west bank and provide covering fire for any British assault on the river road to Line Jackson (name of the U.S. defensive line at the Rodriguez Canal) and New Orleans. After silencing the two ships, Pakenham ordered a reconnaissance-in-force on December 28 against the earthworks. The reconnaissance-in-force was designed to test Line Jackson and see how well-defended it was, and if any section of the line was weak the British would take advantage of the situation, break through, and call for thousands of more soldiers to smash through the defenses. On the right side of this offensive the British soldiers successfully sent the militia defenders into a retreating panic with their huge show of force and were just a few hundred yards from breaching the defensive line, but the left side of the reconnaissance-in-force turned into disaster for the British. The surviving artillery guns from the two neutralized warships successfully defended the section of Line Jackson closest to the Mississippi River with enfilading fire, making it look like the British offensive completely failed even though on the section closest to the swamp the British were on the verge of breaking through. Pakenham inexplicably decided to withdraw all the soldiers after seeing the left side of his reconnaissance-in-force collapsing and retreating in panic. The British suffered 16 killed and 43 wounded and the Americans suffered 7 killed and 10 wounded. Luck saved Line Jackson on this day and this was the closest the British came during the whole campaign to defeating Jackson.[48]

After the failure of this operation Pakenham met with General Keane and Admiral Cochrane that evening for an update on the situation. Pakenham wanted to use Chef Menteur Pass as the invasion route, but he was overruled by Admiral Cochrane, who insisted that his boats were providing everything needed.[49] Admiral Cochrane believed that the veteran British soldiers would easily destroy Jackson's ramshackle army, and he allegedly said that if the army did not do it, his sailors would, and the meeting settled the method and place of the attack.[50]

When the British reconnaissance force withdrew, the Americans immediately began constructing earthworks to protect the artillery batteries, further strengthening Line Jackson. They installed eight batteries, which included one 32-pound gun, three 24-pounders, one 18-pounder, three 12-pounders, three 6-pounders, and a 6-inch (150 mm) howitzer. Jackson also sent a detachment to the west bank of the Mississippi to man two 24-pounders and two 12-pounders on the grounded warship USS *Louisiana*. Jackson in the first week of the New Orleans land campaign that began on December 23 also had the support of the warships in the Mississippi River, including USS *Louisiana*, USS *Carolina*, the schooner USS *Eagle*, and the steamboat *Enterprise*. The naval warships were neutralized by the heavy naval artillery guns brought in by Pakenham and Cochrane a few days after Christmas. Major Thomas Hinds' Squadron of Light Dragoons, a militia unit from the Mississippi Territory, arrived at the battle on December 22.[51]



H. Charles McBarron, *Free Men of Colour and Choctaw Indian Volunteers at New Orleans, Louisiana* (1982)

Artillery duel

The main British army arrived on New Year's Day 1815 and began an artillery bombardment of the American earthworks. Jackson's headquarters, Macarty House, was fired at for the first 10 minutes of the skirmish while Jackson and his officers were eating breakfast. The house was completely destroyed but Jackson and the officers escaped harm. The Americans recovered quickly and mobilized their own artillery to fire back at the British artillery. This began an exchange of artillery fire that continued for three hours. Several of the American guns were silenced, including the 32-pounder, a 24-pounder, and a 12-pounder, while some damage was done to the earthworks. The British suffered even greater, losing 13 guns (five British batteries out of seven total batteries were silenced by the Americans). The remaining British artillery finally exhausted its ammunition, and Pakenham canceled the attack. Major General Gibbs during the artillery duel sent soldiers to try to outflank Line Jackson on the right due to the near-success of the December 28 skirmish. A combined force of Tennessee militia and Choctaw warriors used heavy small arms fire to repel this maneuver. The Tennessee and Choctaw soldiers even moved forward in front of Line Jackson and counterattacked, guerrilla-style, to guarantee the British withdrawal. After yet another failure to breach Line Jackson Pakenham decided to wait for his entire force of 8,000 men to assemble before continuing his attack (the 40th Foot arrived too late, disembarking on 12 January 1815.[52]). The British lost 45 killed and 55 wounded in the artillery duel and the Americans lost 11 killed and 23 wounded.

Battery 4, in the middle of Line Jackson, contained the biggest American artillery gun, a naval 32-pounder that was transferred from the USS *Carolina* before she was sunk by the British.

Battle

The Americans had constructed three lines of defense, with the forward line four miles south of the city. It was strongly entrenched at the Rodriguez Canal, which stretched from a swamp to the river, with a timber, loop-holed breastwork and earthworks for artillery.[53][54]

The *Death of Pakenham at the Battle of New Orleans* by F. O. C. Darley shows the death of British Maj. Gen. Sir Edward Pakenham on January 8, 1815

General Lambert and two infantry battalions totaling 1700 soldiers disembarked and reinforced the British on January 5.[55] This brought the amount of disembarked men to about 8,000.[e]

The British battle plan was for an attack against the 20-gun right bank battery, then to turn those guns on the American line to assist the frontal attack.[57] Colonel William Thornton was to cross the Mississippi during the night with his force, move rapidly upriver, storm the battery commanded by Commodore Daniel Patterson on the flank of the main American entrenchments, and then open an enfilading fire on Jackson's line with the captured artillery, directly across from the earthworks manned by the vast majority of the American troops.

On the other bank, Major General Samuel Gibbs was to lead the main assault against the center left by his (2nd) brigade. As a feint, a column of light infantry companies (from 4th, 21st Foot) led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rennie would march along the river. This would be 'considered as belonging to' the (1st) Brigade commanded by General Keane. Keane's men would move to either exploit the success along the river, or move against the center in support of Gibbs. The right flank, along the swamp, was to be protected by light infantry (detached from 7th, 43rd, 93rd Foot) commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Timothy Jones (of the 4th Foot). The (3rd) brigade commanded by Major General John Lambert was held in reserve.[f]

Reilly notes that the advance columns of the brigades of Keane and Gibbs would be about 650 yards from the American lines. Given they would be in sight of, and in range of, the artillery, it was important to storm the ditch at first light.[59]

The start of the battle was marked by the launch of a signal rocket[60] at 6:20am, soon after followed by artillery fire from the British lines towards Jackson's headquarters at the McCarty house.[61]

Right Bank

The preparations of the British had not gone unnoticed.[62] The Louisiana Militia brigade were reinforced by 200 Kentucky militiamen commanded by Colonel Davis. They arrived at 4am, after a five mile march through mud. Exhausted, they had not eaten since noon the prior day. Morgan deployed them between two positions, a mile apart.[63]

The British dug a canal to enable 42 small boats to get to the river.[57] Preparations for the attack had floundered early on January 8, as the canal collapsed and the dam failed, leaving the sailors to drag the boats through the mud with Thornton's right bank assault force. This left the force starting off just before daybreak, eight hours late according to Thornton's dispatch,[g] assessed in 2008 to be 12 hours late.[64][h] In the early morning of January 8, Pakenham gave his final orders for the two-pronged assault. The frontal attack was not postponed, however, as the British hoped that the force on the right bank would create a diversion, even if they did not succeed in the assault.[57]

As a consequence of the sides of the canal caving in and choking the passage that night, only enough boats got through to carry 560 men,[66][67][g] [i][j] just one-third of the intended force.[k] Captain Rowland Money led the Navy detachment, and Brevet Major Thomas Adair led the Marines. Money was captain of HMS *Trave*, and Adair was the commanding officer of HMS *Vengeur*'s detachment of Marines.[72] Thornton did not make allowance for the current, and it carried him about a thousand yards below the intended landing place.[73] (Remini states the plan was to land three miles south of Morgan's position, but they actually landed four miles south.[74])

The only British success of the battle was the delayed attack on the right bank of the Mississippi River, where Thornton's brigade of the 85th Regiment of Foot and detachments from the Royal Navy and Royal Marines[75] attacked and overwhelmed the American line.[42] The 700 militiamen were routed.[76] Reilly felt the fault lay with Morgan, who had dispersed his troops, rather than concentrating most of them around his main defence, whilst deploying a picket, to give advance warning once the British arrived.[73] The decision by General Morgan to deploy his troops in two positions a mile apart, neither defensible, was favorable for the British. Morgan's mismanagement of his Kentucky and Louisiana militiamen was an open invitation to defeat.[77] Whilst the retreat of the militia has been criticized, such a move was no less than prudent.[78] An inquiry, overseen by Major General William Carroll of the Tennessee Militia, found that the conduct was 'not reprehensible'.[79] Major Paul Arnaud, commanding officer of the 2nd Louisiana militia brigade, was targeted as a scapegoat for the retreat on the Right Bank.[80] His fellow Louisiana Militia officers Dejean, Cavallier and Declouet were admonished, as was Colonel John Davis of the Kentucky Militia.[81]

At around 10 am, Lambert was made aware that the right bank had been taken,[82][83] as signalled by a rocket launched by Gubbins. His brigade won their battle, but Thornton was badly wounded, and delegated his command to Gubbins. Army casualties among the 85th Foot were two dead, one captured, and 41 wounded,[42] the battalion reduced to 270 effectives on the Right Bank.[84] Royal Navy casualties were two dead, Captain Rowland Money and 18 seamen wounded. Royal Marine casualties were two dead, with three officers, one sergeant, and 12 other ranks wounded. By contrast, the defenders' casualties were two dead, eleven wounded and nineteen missing.[85][86][87] Both Jackson and Commodore Patterson reported that the retreating forces had spiked their cannon, leaving no guns to turn on the Americans' main defense line; Major Michell's diary, however, claims that he had "commenced cleaning enemy's guns to form a battery to enfilade their lines on the left bank".[88]

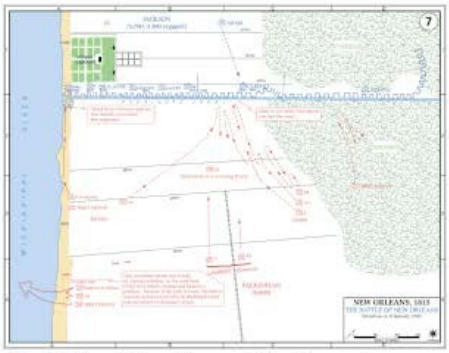
General Lambert ordered his Chief of Artillery Colonel Alexander Dickson to assess the position. Dickson reported back that no fewer than 2,000 men would be required to hold the position. Lambert issued orders to withdraw after the defeat of their main army on the east bank and retreated, taking a few American prisoners and cannon with them.[42][89] The Americans were so dismayed by the loss of this battery, which would be capable of inflicting much damage on their lines when the attack was renewed, that they were preparing to abandon the town when they received the news that the British were withdrawing, according to one British regimental historian.[90] Reilly does not agree, but does note that Jackson was eager to send Humbert to take command of 400 men to retake the position from Thornton's troops.[88][l] Carson Ritchie goes as far to assert that 'it was not Pakenham, but Sir Alexander Dickson who lost the third battle of New Orleans' in consequence of his recommendation to evacuate the Right Bank,[88] and that 'he could think of nothing but defense'.[88]

This success, being described as 'a brilliant exploit by the British, and a disgraceful exhibition [of General Morgan's leadership] by the Americans,'[94][95] had no effect on the outcome of the battle.[94][95]

The positions were reoccupied on the 9th, and Patterson reestablished his battery on January 10.[96]

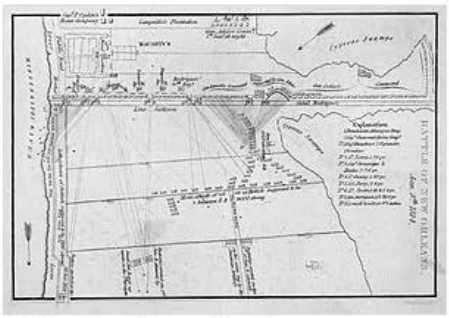
Left Bank

Preparation for the assault by the 44th Foot



The Battle of New Orleans: Situation on 8 January 1815

The 44th Regiment of Foot was assigned by General Edward Pakenham to be the advance guard for the first column of attack on 8 January 1815, and to carry the fascines and ladders which would enable the British troops to cross the ditch and scale the American ramparts. The commanding officer of the 44th, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Mullins had been commended twice during the Chesapeake campaign, and was recently promoted. He was noted as being haughty, and less than diligent in his duties as a staff officer in the days prior to the attack.[97] Pakenham ordered Mullins to determine the locations of those fascines and ladders that evening of the 7th, in order that there would be no delays in retrieving them the following morning.[97]



Battle of New Orleans: Jan. 8th

Gibbs also instructed him to confirm the locations of those fascines and ladders. Mullins delegated this to a subordinate, Johnston, who went to headquarters to do so. Whilst there, he was observed by General Gibbs, who enquired what he was doing. Upon being told, Gibbs wrote a formal order to Mullins that 'The Commanding Officer of the 44th will ascertain where the fascines and Ladders are deposited this evening.' A map of where the items were stored was given to Johnston. Upon returning, he presented the map to Mullins, which he dismissively put in his waistcoat.[98]

At 5 pm that evening, Mullins summoned his officers for a meeting, to discuss the attack. One of his subordinates questioned the location of the ladders, and received a caustic rebuke. He was approached by his Captain and hut-mate at 8 pm, and diplomatically suggested preparing for the next day, including the order from Gibbs to personally see where the items were stored. Mullins was dismissive, and stated there would be plenty of time in the morning.[98] Pakenham sent an order to an engineer officer to communicate with Mullins as to where the items were stored, in the redoubt. Coincidentally, Mullins arrived in the presence of the engineer officer and the artillery officer. Upon being read Pakenham's instructions, and being asked if he had any questions, Mullins replied that it was clear.[99]

During the night, an *advance battery* was set up forward of the *advance redoubt*, a distance of about 880 yards (800 m) [100] or 500 yards (460 m),[101] positioned 800 yards (730 m) south from Line Jackson.[m] Mullins, thinking this to be the location of the materiel, passed the advance redoubt and halted the regiment at the battery. Upon discovering his mistake, he sent about 300 of his 427 men back to the redoubt at the double-quick

to pick up the fascines and ladders, but it was too late. The other regiments were already advancing behind the 44th, the party of 300 lost formation as they struggled to reach the redoubt, and as day dawned, the attack commenced before the supplies could be brought forward.[103][104]

The attack on the Left Bank

The main attack began in darkness and a heavy fog, but the fog lifted as the British neared the main American line, exposing them to withering artillery fire. The British column had already been disordered by the passage of the 300 returning to the redoubt, and they advanced into a storm of American fire. Without the fascines and ladders, they were unable to scale and storm the American position. [53] The British forces fell into confusion, thrown into disorder by the flight of the advance guard.[77] Most of the senior officers were killed or wounded, including Major General Samuel Gibbs, who was killed leading the main attack column on the right, and Colonel Rennie, who led a detachment on the left by the river.[105] Mullins had compromised their attack.[106]

E. Percy Moran, *The Battle of New Orleans* (1910)

The Highlanders of the 93rd Regiment of Foot were ordered to leave Keane's assault column advancing along the river, possibly because of Thornton's delay in crossing the river and the artillery fire that might hit them, and to move across the open field to join the main force on the right. Keane fell wounded as he crossed the field with the 93rd. Rennie's men managed to attack and overrun an American advance redoubt next to the river, but they could neither hold the position nor successfully storm the main American line behind it without reinforcements.[105] Within a few minutes, the American 7th US Infantry arrived, moved forward, and fired upon the British in the captured redoubt; within half an hour, Rennie and nearly all of his men were dead. In the main attack on the right, the British infantrymen flung themselves to the ground, huddled in the canal, or were mowed down by a combination of musket fire and grapeshot from the Americans. A handful made it to the top of the parapet on the right, but they were killed or captured. The riflemen of the 95th Regiment of Foot had advanced in open skirmish order ahead of the main assault force and were concealed in the ditch below the parapet, unable to advance further without support.

The two large main assaults were repulsed. Pakenham and Gibbs were fatally wounded while on horseback by grapeshot fired from the earthworks.[107] Major Wilkinson of the 21st Regiment of Foot reformed his lines and made a third assault. They were able to reach the entrenchments and attempted to scale them. Wilkinson made it to the top before being shot. The Americans were amazed at his bravery and carried him behind the rampart.[108][109] The British soldiers stood out in the open and were shot apart with grapeshot from Line Jackson, including the 93rd Highlanders, having no orders to advance further or retreat.[107]

The light infantry companies commanded by Jones attacked the right flank, but were repulsed by Coffee's troops. The attack having failed, the troops withdrew, and sought cover in the woods. Lieutenant Colonel Jones was mortally injured.[110][111][112]

General Lambert was in the reserve and took command. He gave the order for his reserve to advance and ordered the withdrawal of the army. The reserve was used to cover the retreat of what was left of the British army in the field. Artillery fire from both sides ceased at 9 am[113] with American batteries ceasing at 2 pm.[114] Whilst the attack was of two hours duration, the main assault lasted only thirty minutes.[115]

Analysis

The Battle of New Orleans was remarkable both for its apparent brevity and its casualties, though some numbers are in dispute and contradict the official statistics. The defenders of the Left Bank had casualties amounting to 11 killed and 23 wounded;[87] American losses were only 13 killed, 39 wounded, and 19 missing or captured in total on that day.[4] Robert Remini[6] and William C Davis[116] make reference to the British casualty reports of 291 killed, 1,262 wounded, and 484 missing, a total loss of 2,037 men. Among the prisoners taken when the British retreated from the battlefield, Jackson estimated three hundred were mortally wounded.[117] Colonel Arthur P. Hayne's dispatch to Jackson dated January 13 estimated the British had 700 fatalities and 1400 wounded, with 501 prisoners of war in his custody.[118] A reduction in headcount due to 443 British soldiers' deaths since the prior month was reported on January 25, which is lower than Hayne's estimate of 700 for the battle alone.[119]

Chalmette Battlefield: The main British attack was aimed just beyond the two farthest cannons at Batteries 5 and 6

The large number of casualties suffered by the British on the Left Bank reflects their failure to maintain the element of surprise, with plenty of advance notice being given to the defenders, owing to the delays in executing the attack on the Right Bank.[120] The failure of the British to have breached the parapet and conclusively eliminated the first line of defense was to result in high casualties as successive waves of men marching in column whilst the prepared defenders were able to direct their fire into a Kill zone, hemmed in by the riverbank and the swamp.[121] The American cannon opened fire when the British were at 500 yards, the riflemen at 300 yards, and the muskets at 100 yards.[122]

Reilly supports the assertion that it was the American artillery that won the battle. The losses among the regiments out of range of small arms fire were disproportionately high, with almost every British account emphasizing the effect of heavy gunfire. In contrast, the riflemen of the 95th Foot in skirmish order, the most difficult target for artillery, had lost only 11 killed. Dickson's eyewitness account is clear that the British were only within musket shot range for less than five minutes. The account by Latour states the battalions of Plauché, Daquin, Lacoste, along with three quarters of the 44th US Infantry did not fire at all. In order to have inflicted such a heavy toll on the British, it would not have been possible to have done this primarily with musket fire, of which the best trained men could only manage two shots per minute.[80] Unlike their British counterparts, the American forces had larger guns, and more of them. They were situated in well-protected earthworks, with a ditch and stockade. The Americans therefore had a number of advantages, but they should not minimize the skill and bravery of their gunners.[123] Stoltz is of the opinion that Jackson was victorious because an American army guarded a strategic choke point and defended it with professionally designed fieldworks and artillery.[124]

Almost universal blame was assigned to Colonel Mullins of the 44th Foot which had been detailed to carry fascines and ladders to the front to enable the British soldiers to cross the ditch and scale the parapet and fight their way to the American breastwork. Mullins was found half a mile to the rear when he was needed at the front.[n] Pakenham learned of Mullins' conduct and placed himself at the head of the 44th, endeavoring to lead them to the front with the implements needed to storm the works, when he fell wounded after being hit with grapeshot. He was hit again while being helped to mount a horse, this time mortally wounded.[90][126]

Pakenham's choice of units has come under question. Pakenham's aide, Wylly, was scornful about the 44th Foot, and thought the 21st Foot was lacking in discipline. His most experienced infantry regiments, the 7th Foot and 43rd Foot, veterans of Wellington's Peninsular War army, were kept in reserve in the plan of attack.[127]

The inability of Thornton's troops to have taken the Right Bank at night, in advance of the main assault, meant that the British were enfiladed by the American batteries. It has been observed that Keane's failure, to have taken the Chef Menteur Road, was compounded when the aggressively natured Pakenham went ahead and launched a frontal assault before the vital flank operation on the other bank of the river had been completed, at a cost of over 2,000 casualties. [28]

Poor British planning and communication, plus costly frontal assaults against an entrenched enemy, caused lopsided British casualties.[128] The Duke of Wellington was saddened by the death of this man, his brother-in-law, with whom he had been on campaign in Spain. A grieving Wellington vented his anger towards Cochrane, whom he blamed:

> I cannot but regret that he was ever employed on such a service or with such a colleague. The expedition to New Orleans originated with that colleague ... The Americans were prepared with an army in a fortified position which still would have been carried, if the duties of others, that is of the Admiral [Cochrane], had been as well performed as that of he whom we now lament.[129]

Patterson notes that the plan of attack was not his own, he conceded to follow it, despite his reservations, and his death prevented him from reformulating a subsequent attack, following the initial failure.[130]

Reilly opines that the brilliance of Cochrane's plan to take possession of the Right Bank batteries was fully comprehended, after its capture. He believes it was the failure of Pakenham's staff to wake him, and to let him know the Right Bank landing was not possible, neither at daylight, nor with the numbers of soldiers originally envisaged, more than any other action or omission in the entire campaign, that was the biggest failure on the part of the British that led to proceed with the attack, with the disastrous outcome that day.[105]

Regarding the American forces on the Right Bank, Reilly states their defenses were inadequate, and that Morgan's deployment of his troops was incompetent.[131] The resultant court of inquiry made no mention of General David Bannister Morgan at all.[132]

Aftermath

Fort St. Philip

Fort St. Philip, manned by an American garrison, defended the river approach to New Orleans. British naval forces attacked the fort on January 9 but withdrew after ten days of bombardment with exploding bomb shells from two bomb vessels, mounting a total of four mortars.[o] [p] In a dispatch sent to the Secretary of War, dated January 19, Jackson stated: "I am strengthened not only by [the defeat of the British at New Orleans] ... but by the failure of his fleet to pass fort St. Philip."[135]

British withdrawal

Despite news of capture of the American battery on the west bank of the Mississippi River, British officers concluded that continuing the Louisiana campaign would be too costly. Three days after the battle, General Lambert held a council of war. Deciding to withdraw, the British left camp at Villeré's Plantation by January 19.[68][136] They were not pursued in any strength.[q] The Chalmette battlefield was the plantation home of

Ignace Martin de Lino (1755–1815), a Spanish veteran of the American Revolutionary War.[138] The British returned to where they had landed, a distance in excess of sixty miles. The final troops re-embarked on January 27.[139]

The British fleet embarked the troops on February 4, 1815 and sailed toward Dauphin Island at Mobile Bay on February 7, 1815.[140][141] The army captured Fort Bowyer at the entrance to Mobile Bay on February 12. Preparations to attack Mobile were in progress when news arrived of the Treaty of Ghent. General Jackson also had made tentative plans to attack the British at Mobile and to continue the war into Spanish Florida. With Britain having ratified the treaty and the United States having resolved that hostilities should cease pending imminent ratification, the British left, sailing to the West Indies.[142] The British government was determined on peace with the United States, and speculation that it planned to permanently seize the Louisiana Purchase has been rejected by historians. Thus Carr concludes, "by the end of 1814 Britain had no interest in continuing the conflict for the possession of New Orleans or any other part of American territory, but rather, due to the European situation and her own domestic problems, was anxious to conclude hostilities as quickly and gracefully as possible."[16][143]

It would have been problematic for the British to continue the war in North America, due to Napoleon's escape from Elba on February 26, 1815, which ensured their forces were needed in Europe.[144] General Lambert participated in the Battle of Waterloo, as did the 4th Foot.

Distinguished service as mentioned in dispatches

> In his general orders of January 21, General Jackson, in thanking the troops, paid special tributes to the Louisiana organizations, and made particular mention of Capts. Dominique and Belluche, and the Lafitte brothers, all of the Barataria privateers; of General Garrique de Flanjac, a State Senator, and brigadier of militia, who served as a volunteer; of Majors Plauche, St. Geme. Lacoste, D'Aquin, Captain Savary, Colonel De la Ronde, General Humbert, Don Juan de Araya, the Mexican Field-Marshal; Major-General Villeré and General Morgan, the Engineers Latour and Blanchard; the Attakapas dragoons, Captain Dubuclay; the cavalry from the Felicianas and the Mississippi territory. General Labattut had command of the town, of which Nicolas Girod was then the mayor.[145][146]

> Among those who most distinguished themselves during this brief but memorable campaign, were, next to the Commander-in-chief, Generals Villeré, Carroll, Coffee, Ganigues, Flanjac, Colonel Delaronde, Commodore Patterson, Majors Lacoste, Planche, Hinds, Captain Saint Gerne, Lieutenants Jones, Parker, Marent, and Dominique; Colonel Savary, a man of colour nor must we omit to mention Lafitte, pirate though he was.[147][146]

Assessment

For the campaign, American casualties totaled 333 with 55 killed, 185 wounded, and 93 missing,[148] while British casualties totaled 2,459 with 386 killed, 1,521 wounded, and 552 missing,[149][150] according to the respective official casualty returns. A reduction in headcount due to 443 British soldiers' deaths since the prior month was reported on January 25. The effective strength of the British had reduced from 5,933[44] to 4,868 soldiers of the original force, bolstered by 681 and 785 soldiers of the 7th Foot and 43rd Foot respectively.[119] More than 600 prisoners of war were released from Jackson's captivity by March 1815.[151][152]

The hundreds of dead British soldiers were likely buried at Jacques Villeré's plantation, which was the headquarters of the British Army during the New Orleans campaign. Nobody knows exactly where their final resting spot is. The only deceased British soldiers transported back to the United Kingdom were Generals Pakenham and Gibbs.[153] Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rennie was buried by the 7th US Infantry, as ordered by Jackson, and his personal effects were passed on to Norman Pringle (an officer of the 21st Foot), via a flag of truce, to be forwarded on to Rennie's widow.[154]

Two examples of artillery pieces on Line Jackson. The one on the right is naval artillery and the left one is army artillery. The Americans used both equally. The British used mostly naval artillery during the campaign and with the small wheels and large frames these guns became bogged down in the muddy fields of Chalmette.

British Generals Pakenham and Gibbs Memorial at St. Paul's Cathedral in London

A discredited historical interpretation holds that British had an ambitious colonization plan for the "Crown colony of Louisiana" if they had succeeded in capturing New Orleans and Mobile. While some British generals did speculate, the British government under Lord Liverpool rejected all such ideas and planned to finalize the peace by ratifying the Treaty of Ghent as soon as possible, regardless of what happened in New Orleans.[155][16][156] Cavell notes that there is little in the correspondence to imply that Britain planned to permanent occupy or to annex New Orleans or Louisiana territory,[157] and Davis states in his book 'no one in [the British] government seems to have advocated permanent possession'.[158]

Both sides faced challenges with logistics. This was especially the case for the British. The shortage of small boats had a noticeable impact when the landing on the Right Bank was made with only a third of the force originally planned, and they arrived far later than the time when they were supposed to arrive. The transport ships with the 26 artillery pieces of the siege train did not arrive until January 11, and would not see action until the engagement at Fort Bowyer on February 7, 1815. The poor quality of the roads through the swampy terrain, coupled with the lack of horses, was a burden upon the British supply network. These logistical shortcomings of the British were a precursor to similar issues that would be experienced during the Crimean War.

Legacy

The battle in American historiography

The battle became historically important mainly for the meaning Americans gave it, particularly with respect to Jackson. According to Matthew Warshauer, the Battle of New Orleans meant, "defeating the most formidable army ever arrayed against the young republic, saving the nation' s reputation in the War of 1812, and establishing [Jackson] as America's preeminent hero."[159] News of victory "came upon the country like a clap of thunder in the clear azure vault of the firmament, and traveled with electromagnetic velocity, throughout the confines of the land."[160] Popular pamphlets, songs, editorials, speeches, and plays glorified Jackson's new, heroic image.

The Eighth of January was a federal holiday from 1828 to 1861, and it was among the earliest national celebrations, as "previously, Americans had only celebrated events such as the Fourth of July or George Washington's birthday on a national scale".[161] The anniversary of the battle was celebrated as an American holiday for many years called "The Eighth".[162][163]

The historiography has been revisited by contemporary historians. According to Troy Bickham, the American victory at New Orleans "did not have an impact on the war's outcome", but it shaped "how the Americans received the end of the war by creating the illusion of military victory."[164] Benn notes while American popular memory focused on the victories at Baltimore, Plattsburgh, and New Orleans to present the war as a successful effort to assert American national honor, or a Second War of Independence, in which the mighty British Empire was humbled and humiliated.[165] In keeping with this sentiment, there is a popularly held view that Britain had planned to annex Louisiana in 1815.[17] The amoral depravity of the British, in contrast with the wholesome behavior of the Americans, has the "beauty and booty" story at the center of a popular history account of Jackson's victory at New Orleans.[166] According to historian Alan Taylor, the final victory at New Orleans had in that sense "enduring and massive consequences".[167] It gave the Americans "continental predominance", while it left the indigenous nations dispossessed, powerless, and vulnerable.[168]

The role played by riflemen of Jackson's army

"The Hunters of Kentucky" was a song written to commemorate Jackson's victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans.[169] In both 1824 and 1828 Jackson used the song as his campaign song during his presidential campaigns.[170]

"Hunters of Kentucky" propagated various beliefs about the war. One of them was calling the Pennsylvania Rifle the Kentucky Rifle. Another was crediting the riflemen with the victory of the Battle of New Orleans, when it could be said it was Jackson's artillery that was actually responsible for the win. Finally, one stanza said that the British planned to ransack New Orleans, which was unlikely to happen.[171]

In keeping with the idea of the conflict as a "second war of independence" against John Bull, the narrative of the skilled rifleman in the militia had parallels with that of the Minuteman as the key factor in winning against the British.[172]

Somewhat ironically, the Kentucky militiamen were the worst equipped of Jackson's forces. Only a third were armed, lamented Jackson to Monroe.[173] On top of this, they were poorly clothed, and were weakened from the long journey. (This explains their poor performance against Thornton's troops on the Right Bank, where they were quickly routed. A court of inquiry cleared Colonel Davis of blame. The outcome was not to the satisfaction of the Kentuckians. Two years later, an account was published in the *Kentucky Reporter*, that grossly exaggerated the Kentucky militia's resistance, whilst bringing into question the behavior of the Louisiana Militia and its commander.[132]) Upon learning this, Jackson was purported to have quipped 'I never in my life seen a Kentuckian without a gun, a pack of cards, and a jug of whiskey.'[174]

The author Augustus Caesar Buell had a book about Jackson published posthumously. It contains his argument that the effect of the artillery, relative to riflemen, was negligible. He 'provides the most authentic solution' by claiming to quote from a primary source document from a fictitious department of the British Army. He declared there were 3,000 men wounded or killed by rifle munitions, 326 by musket or artillery.[175] The numbers provided run counter to those in primary sources with known provenance.[6] Ritchie notes the British reserve

was 650 yards away from the American line, so never came within rifle range, yet suffered 182 casualties.[176] Owsley estimates that between 800 and 1200 privately owned rifles were used, with the majority of Jackson's men equipped with the musket.[177]

Histories of the battle, in particular those directed towards a popular audience, have continued to emphasize the part played by the riflemen.[178] In more recent years, starting with Brown in 1969, scholarship has revealed that the militia played a smaller role, and that most British casualties were attributed to artillery fire.[179][180][80] The engineers who oversaw the erection of the ramparts, the enslaved persons of color who built them, and the trained gunners who manned the cannons have seen their contributions understated as a consequence of these popular histories that have been written since the Era of Good Feelings.[172] Popular memory's omissions of the numerous artillery batteries, professionally designed earthworks, and the negligible effect of aimed rifle fire during that battle lulled those inhabitants of the South into believing that war against the North would be much easier than it really would be.[181] Owsley notes that De Tousard was adamant that the artillery fire that broke the British, many of its gunners being of French extraction.[177]

Until fairly recently, 'the supremacy of Kentucky and Tennessee rifles in deciding the battle was undisputed.'[182] Whilst this is recognised in some contemporary sources as folklore,[183][184][185] it is seen as an emblem of a bygone era in Kentucky. A bronze statue was dedicated in 2015 in honor of the local Soldier - Ephraim McLean Brank - who, as legend has it, was the "Kentucky rifleman" at the Battle of New Orleans. It is situated at Muhlenburg County Courthouse in Greenville, Kentucky.[186] There are still those who are happy to read accounts of forefathers from their state, and how the 'long riflemen killed all of the officers ranked Captain and above in this battle.'[187][188] Likewise, there are contemporary secondary sources that champion the riflemen as the cause of this significant victory against the British.[189]

"Beauty and Booty" controversy

After the battle, a claim was published by George Poindexter, in a letter dated January 20 to the *Mississippi Republican*, that Pakenham's troops had used "Beauty and Booty" as a watchword:

> The watch-word and countersign of the enemy on the morning of the 8th was,
> BOOTY AND BEAUTY
> Comment is unnecessary on these significant allusions held out to a licentious soldiery. Had victory declared on their side, the scenes of Havre de Grace, of Hampton, of Alexandria . . . would, without doubt, have been reacted at New Orleans, with all the unfeeling and brutal inhumanity of the savage foe with whom we are contending.

This was republished in Niles' Register,[190] the National Intelligencer on February 13, and other newspapers.[191] Whilst there were criticisms from the Federalist press, as well as from Poindexter's enemies, as to how reliable this information was, it was widely accepted elsewhere. Senator Charles Jared Ingersoll made direct reference to this in his speech to Congress on February 16, reproduced in full in the *National Intelligencer*.[192] He continued, in an elated manner, 'with the tidings of this triumph from the south, to have peace from the east, is such a fullness of gratification as must overflow all hearts with gratitude.'[192] He saw the news of victory at New Orleans against an immoral foe, followed by news of peace, as a positive sentiment to unite the different peoples of the United States,[193] the zeitgeist of these postwar years later becoming known as the *Era of Good Feelings*.

This watchword claim, as originated by Poindexter, was repeated in Eaton's "Life of General Jackson", first published in 1817. A second edition of this biography was published in 1824, when Jackson made his first presidential bid. Further editions were published for the presidential elections of 1828 and 1833.[194] Editions from 1824 onwards now contained the claim that documentary evidence proved the watchword was used.[195] As a consequence it was reproduced in a travelogue in 1833.[196]

Following the publishing of a travelogue in 1833, whereby the author James Stuart referred to the watchword,[196] this hitherto unknown controversy became known in Great Britain. In response to the author, five British officers who had fought in the battle, Keane, Lambert, Thornton, Blakeney and Dickson, signed a rebuttal in August 1833. It is stated this was published in *The Times* by American sources,[197][198] but this is not the case.[199] [200][201] Somewhat ironically, Niles's Register, which originally printed Poindexter's claim, now printed the British rebuttal:[202]

> We, the undersigned, serving in that army, and actually present, and through whom all orders to the troops were promulgated, do, in justice to the memory of that distinguished officer who commanded and led the attack, the whole tenor of whose life was marked by manliness of purpose and integrity of view, most unequivocally deny that any such promise (of plunder) was ever held out to the army, or that the watchword asserted to have been given out was ever issued. And, further, that such motives could never have actuated the man who, in the discharge of his duty to his king and country, so eminently upheld the character of a true British soldier.[203]

James Stuart's account was criticised by a veteran, Major Norman Pringle, who wrote several letters to the Edinburgh Evening Courant. In response, Stuart published a book to refute these criticisms.[204] He quoted Major Eaton as a reliable source, and later went on to comment that as a result of Stuart, it had become accepted the watchword was a falsehood.[205] One quote from the book 'certainly the refutation of the charge as stated in Major Eaton's Book is, though tardy, complete'[206] considered the matter closed. Notwithstanding the refutation, the story had benefited both Jackson and Eaton's political careers, who had nothing left to prove.[207]

The publication of Eaton's book in Britain in 1834, and in subsequent editions, still contained the story of "booty and beauty". The British Ambassador, Sir Charles Richard Vaughan wrote to President Jackson about the matter. Vaughan wrote that Eaton 'expressed himself glad, that the report was at last contradicted' by the rebuttal, but there was no pressure on him to retract his comments from the Jackson biography.[208] There is no recounting in 1833 of Jackson's supposed encounter with the mystery Creole planter (Denis de la Ronde), as reported by S C Arthur (see below).

Arthur's 1915 publication, quoting from Parton's 1861 biography of Jackson, itself quoting extensively from Vincent Nolte's book published in 1854, has referred to a Creole planter reportedly visited a British military camp a few days prior to the battle, being welcomed in after claiming that he was supportive of a possible British takeover of the region. While dining at dinner with a group of British officers, the planter claimed he heard one officer offer the toast of "Beauty and Booty". After gathering information on Pakenham's battle plans, the planter left the camp the next day and reported the information he had gathered to Jackson; the rumor that the British were offering toasts to "Beauty and Booty" soon spread throughout New Orleans, in particular among the upper-class women of the city.[197] Nolte's book reveals the 'planter' to be no other than Denis de la Ronde,[209] the colonel commanding the Third Regiment of the Louisiana Militia.[210]

In the years since the Treaty of Ghent, not only did Jackson's reputation benefit from his major victory against the British, but also from vilifying the British as an amoral foe, against whom a second war of independence had been fought. As a national hero, it facilitated his subsequent career in politics, and tenure as President of the

United States.

Political outcomes

New England as a whole was against the war. The leaders of the Federalist Party of New England met at the Hartford Convention and decided to deliver a set of demands to the federal government in January 1815.[211] The moderates were in charge and there was no proposal to secede from the union. When the Hartford delegation reached Washington word of the great American victory at New Orleans came and the Federalists were seen as traitors and anti-American; the Federalist Party was permanently ruined.[212]

The economic impact of the War of 1812 resulted in discord for those in the northern New England states harmed by the blockade. Their concerns were voiced through the Federalist Party. The Hartford Convention saw them discuss their grievances concerning the ongoing war and the political problems arising from the federal government's increasing power. Federalists were increasingly opposed to slavery, both on principle and because the Three-fifths Compromise gave a political advantage to their opponents, who gained increased representation because of the weight given to enslaved (and therefore disenfranchised) people. This had resulted in the dominance of Virginia in the presidency since 1800.

By the time the Federalist "ambassadors" got to Washington, the war was over and news of Andrew Jackson's stunning victory in the Battle of New Orleans had raised American morale immensely. The "ambassadors" hastened back to Massachusetts, but not before they had done fatal damage to the Federalist Party. The Federalists were thereafter associated with the disloyalty and parochialism of the Hartford Convention and destroyed as a political force. Across the nation, Republicans used the great victory at New Orleans to ridicule the Federalists as cowards, defeatists and secessionists. Pamphlets, songs, newspaper editorials, speeches and entire plays on the Battle of New Orleans drove home the point.[213]

The Era of Good Feelings resulted from the Battle of New Orleans. From 1815 to 1825 there was single-party rule in Washington and an overwhelming feeling of patriotism due to the extinction of the Federalist Party. The era saw the collapse of the Federalist Party and an end to the bitter partisan disputes between it and the dominant Democratic-Republican Party during the First Party System.

Andrew Jackson served as the seventh president of the United States from 1829 to 1837.

The void left by the Federalist Party was replaced by the Whig Party (United States), which came into being in 1833, in opposition to Andrew Jackson, and his policies as President. The Whig Party fell apart in the 1850s due to divisions over the expansion of slavery. Once more, a division between southern and northern states came into being.

The victory at New Orleans effectively kept the United States unified for the next 45 years until the American Civil War.

Memorials

The Louisiana Historical Association dedicated its Memorial Hall facility to Jackson on January 8, 1891, the 76th anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.[214] The Federal government established a national historical park in 1907 to preserve the Chalmette Battlefield, which also includes the Chalmette National Cemetery. It features the 100-foot-tall Chalmette Monument and is part of the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve. The monument was supposed to be at least 150 feet tall but the very soft and wet soil limited it to 100 feet.[215] A five-

Andrew Jackson Background

WIKIPEDIA
The Free Encyclopedia

Andrew Jackson

Andrew Jackson (March 15, 1767 – June 8, 1845) was an American lawyer, planter, general, and statesman who served as the seventh president of the United States from 1829 to 1837. Before his presidency, he gained fame as a general in the U.S. Army and served in both houses of the U.S. Congress. Often praised as an advocate for ordinary Americans and for his work in preserving the union of states, Jackson has also been criticized for his racial policies, particularly his treatment of Native Americans.

Jackson was born in the colonial Carolinas before the American Revolutionary War. He became a frontier lawyer and married Rachel Donelson Robards. He briefly served in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, representing Tennessee. After resigning, he served as a justice on the Tennessee Superior Court from 1798 until 1804. Jackson purchased a property later known as the Hermitage, becoming a wealthy planter who owned hundreds of African-American slaves during his lifetime. In 1801, he was appointed colonel of the Tennessee militia and was elected its commander. He led troops during the Creek War of 1813–1814, winning the Battle of Horseshoe Bend and negotiating the Treaty of Fort Jackson that required the indigenous Creek population to surrender vast tracts of present-day Alabama and Georgia. In the concurrent war against the British, Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 made him a national hero. He later commanded U.S. forces in the First Seminole War, which led to the annexation of Florida from Spain. Jackson briefly served as Florida's first territorial governor before returning to the Senate. He ran for president in 1824. He won a plurality of the popular and electoral vote, but no candidate won the electoral majority. With the help of Henry Clay, the House of Representatives elected John Quincy Adams in a contingent election. Jackson's supporters alleged that there was a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay and began creating their own political organization that would eventually become the Democratic Party.

Jackson ran again in 1828, defeating Adams in a landslide. In 1830, he signed the Indian Removal Act. This act, which has been described as ethnic cleansing, displaced tens of thousands of Native Americans from their ancestral homelands east of the Mississippi and resulted in thousands of deaths. Jackson faced a challenge to the integrity of the federal union when South Carolina threatened to nullify a high protective tariff set by the federal government. He threatened the use of military force to enforce the tariff, but the crisis was defused when it was amended. In 1832, he vetoed a bill by Congress to reauthorize the Second Bank of the United States, arguing that it was a corrupt institution. After a lengthy struggle, the Bank was dismantled. In 1835, Jackson became the only president to pay off the national debt. He survived the first assassination attempt on a sitting president. In one of his final presidential acts, he recognized the Republic of Texas.

After leaving office, Jackson supported the presidencies of Martin Van Buren and James K. Polk, as well as the annexation of Texas. Jackson's legacy remains controversial, and opinions are frequently polarized. Supporters characterize him as a defender of democracy and the Constitution, while critics point to his reputation as a demagogue who ignored the law when it suited him. Jackson's presidency has consistently been ranked as above average, although his reputation has declined since the late 20th century.

Early life and education

Andrew Jackson was born on March 15, 1767, in the Waxhaws region of the Carolinas. His parents were Scots-Irish colonists Andrew Jackson and Elizabeth Hutchinson, Presbyterians who had emigrated from Ulster, Ireland, in 1765.[1] Jackson's father was born in Carrickfergus, County Antrim, around 1738,[2] and his ancestors had crossed into Northern Ireland from Scotland after the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.[3] Jackson had two older brothers who came with his parents from Ireland, Hugh (born 1763) and Robert (born 1764).[4][3] Elizabeth had a strong hatred of the British that she passed on to her sons.[5]

Jackson's exact birthplace is unclear. Jackson's father died at the age of 29 in a logging accident while clearing land in February 1767, three weeks before his son Andrew was born.[4] Afterwards, Elizabeth and her three sons moved in with her sister and brother-in-law, Jane and James Crawford.[6] Jackson later stated that he was born on the Crawford plantation,[7] which is in Lancaster County, South Carolina, but second-hand evidence suggests that he might have been born at another uncle's home in North Carolina.[6]

When Jackson was young, Elizabeth thought he might become a minister and paid to have him schooled by a local clergyman.[8] He learned to read, write, work with numbers, and was exposed to Greek and Latin,[9] but he was too strong-willed and hot-tempered for the ministry.[6]

Revolutionary War

Jackson and his older brothers, Hugh and Robert, served on the Patriot side against British forces during the American Revolutionary War. Hugh served under Colonel William Richardson Davie, dying from heat exhaustion after the Battle of Stono Ferry in June 1779.[10] After anti-British sentiment intensified in the Southern Colonies following the Battle of Waxhaws in May 1780, Elizabeth encouraged Andrew and Robert to participate in militia drills.[11] They served as couriers,[12] and were present at the Battle of Hanging Rock in August 1780.[13]

Andrew Jackson

Portrait c. 1835

7th President of the United States	
In office	March 4, 1829 – March 4, 1837
Vice President	John C. Calhoun (1829–1832) *None* (1832–1833)[a] Martin Van Buren (1833–1837)
Preceded by	John Quincy Adams
Succeeded by	Martin Van Buren
United States Senator from Tennessee	
In office	March 4, 1823 – October 14, 1825
Preceded by	John Williams
Succeeded by	Hugh Lawson White
In office	September 26, 1797 – April 1, 1798
Preceded by	William Cocke
Succeeded by	Daniel Smith
Federal Military Commissioner of Florida	
In office	March 10, 1821 – December 31, 1821
Appointed by	James Monroe
Preceded by	José María Coppinger (Spanish East Florida) José María Callava (Spanish West Florida)
Succeeded by	William Pope Duval (as Territorial Governor)
Justice of the Tennessee Superior Court	
In office	June 1798 – June 1804
Preceded by	Howell Tatum
Succeeded by	John Overton
Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Tennessee's at-large district	

Andrew and Robert were captured in April 1781 when the British occupied the home of a Crawford relative. A British officer demanded to have his boots polished. Andrew refused, and the officer slashed him with a sword, leaving him with scars on his left hand and head. Robert also refused and was struck a blow on the head.[14] The brothers were taken to a prisoner-of-war camp in Camden, South Carolina, where they became malnourished and contracted smallpox.[15] In late spring, the brothers were released to their mother in a prisoner exchange.[16] Robert died two days after arriving home, but Elizabeth was able to nurse Andrew back to health.[17] Once he recovered, Elizabeth volunteered to nurse American prisoners of war housed in British prison ships in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.[18] She contracted cholera and died soon afterwards.[19] The war made Jackson an orphan at age 14[20] and increased his hatred for the values he associated with Britain, in particular aristocracy and political privilege.[21]

Early career

Legal career and marriage

After the American Revolutionary War, Jackson worked as a saddler,[22] briefly returned to school, and taught reading and writing to children.[23] In 1784, he left the Waxhaws region for Salisbury, North Carolina, where he studied law under attorney Spruce Macay.[24] He completed his training under John Stokes,[25] and was admitted to the North Carolina bar in September 1787.[26] Shortly thereafter, his friend John McNairy helped him get appointed as a prosecuting attorney in the Western District of North Carolina,[27] which would later become the state of Tennessee. While traveling to assume his new position, Jackson stopped in Jonesborough. While there, he bought his first slave, a woman who was around his age.[28] He also fought his first duel, accusing another lawyer, Waightstill Avery, of impugning his character. The duel ended with both men firing in the air.[29]

Jackson began his new career in the frontier town of Nashville in 1788 and quickly moved up in social status.[30] He became a protégé of William Blount, one of the most powerful men in the territory.[31] Jackson was appointed attorney general of the Mero District in 1791 and judge-advocate for the militia the following year.[32] He also got involved in land speculation,[33] eventually forming a partnership with fellow lawyer John Overton.[34] Their partnership mainly dealt with claims made under a "land grab" act of 1783 that opened Cherokee and Chickasaw territory to North Carolina's white residents.[35]

While boarding at the home of Rachel Stockly Donelson, the widow of John Donelson, Jackson became acquainted with their daughter, Rachel Donelson Robards. The younger Rachel was in an unhappy marriage with Captain Lewis Robards, and the two were separated by 1789.[36] After the separation, Jackson and Rachel became romantically involved,[37] living together as husband and wife.[38] Robards petitioned for divorce, which was granted on the basis of Rachel's infidelity.[39] The couple legally married in January 1794.[40] In 1796, they acquired their first plantation, Hunter's Hill,[41] on 640 acres (260 ha) of land near Nashville.[42]

Early public career

Jackson became a member of the Democratic-Republican Party, the dominant party in Tennessee.[31] He was elected as a delegate to the Tennessee constitutional convention in 1796.[43] When Tennessee achieved statehood that year, he was elected to be its U.S. representative. In Congress, Jackson argued against the Jay Treaty, criticized George Washington for allegedly removing Democratic-Republicans from public office, and joined several other Democratic-Republican congressmen in voting against a resolution of thanks for Washington.[44] He advocated for the right of Tennesseans to militarily oppose Native American interests.[45] The state legislature elected him to be a U.S. senator in 1797, but he resigned after serving only six months.[46]

In the spring of 1798, Governor John Sevier appointed Jackson to be a judge of the Tennessee Superior Court.[47] In 1802, he also became major general, or commander, of the Tennessee militia, a position that was determined by a vote of the militia's officers. The vote was tied between Jackson and Sevier, a popular Revolutionary War veteran and former governor, but the governor, Archibald Roane, broke the tie in Jackson's favor. Jackson later accused Sevier of fraud and bribery.[48] Sevier responded by impugning Rachel's honor, resulting in a shootout on a public street.[49] Soon afterwards, they met to duel, but parted without having fired at each other.[50]

Planting career and slavery

Jackson resigned his judgeship in 1804.[51] He had almost gone bankrupt when the land and mercantile speculations he had made on the basis of promissory notes fell apart in the wake of an earlier financial panic.[52] He had to sell Hunter's Hill, as well as 25,000 acres (10,000 ha) of land he bought for speculation and bought a smaller 420-acre (170 ha) plantation near Nashville that he would call the Hermitage.[53] He focused on recovering from his losses by becoming a successful planter and merchant.[53] The Hermitage would grow to 1,000 acres (400 ha),[54] making it one of the largest cotton-growing plantations in the state.[51]

Like most planters in the Southern United States, Jackson used slave labor. In 1804, Jackson had nine African-American slaves; by 1820, he had over 100; and by his death in 1845, he had over 150.[55] Over his lifetime, he owned a total of 300 slaves.[56] Jackson subscribed to the paternalistic idea of slavery, which claimed that slave ownership was morally acceptable as long as slaves were treated with humanity and their basic needs were cared for.[57] In practice, slaves were treated as a form of wealth whose productivity needed to be protected.[58] Jackson directed harsh punishment for slaves who disobeyed or ran away.[59] For example, in an 1804 advertisement to recover a

In office	December 4, 1796 – September 26, 1797
Preceded by	James White (Delegate from the Southwest Territory)
Succeeded by	William C. C. Claiborne
Personal details	
Born	March 15, 1767 Waxhaw Settlement between North Carolina and South Carolina, British America
Died	June 8, 1845 (aged 78) Nashville, Tennessee, United States
Resting place	The Hermitage
Political party	Democratic (1828–1845)
Other political affiliations	Democratic-Republican (before 1825) Jacksonian (1825–1828)
Spouse	Rachel Donelson (m. 1794; died 1828)
Children	2, including Lyncoya
Occupation	Politician · lawyer · general
Awards	Congressional Gold Medal Thanks of Congress
Signature	Andrew Jackson
Military service	
Branch/service	United States Army
Rank	Major general (U.S. Army) Major general (U.S. Volunteers) Major general (Tennessee militia)
Unit	South Carolina Militia (1780–81) Tennessee Militia (1792–1821) United States Army (1814-1821)
Battles/wars	*See list* [show] American Revolutionary War — Battle of Hanging Rock; Creek War — Battle of Talladega; Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek

runaway slave, he offered "ten dollars extra, for every hundred lashes any person will give him" up to three hundred lashes—a number that would likely have been deadly.[59][60] Jackson also participated in the local slave trade.[61] Over time, his accumulation of wealth in both slaves and land placed him among the elite families of Tennessee.[62]

Duel with Dickinson and adventure with Burr

In May 1806, Jackson fought a duel with Charles Dickinson. They had gotten into an argument over a horse race, and Dickinson allegedly uttered a slur against Rachel.[49] During the duel, Dickinson fired first, and the bullet hit Jackson in the chest. The wound was not life-threatening because the bullet had shattered against his breastbone.[63] Jackson returned fire and killed Dickinson. The killing tarnished Jackson's reputation.[64]

Later that year, Jackson became involved in former vice president Aaron Burr's plan to conquer Spanish Florida and drive the Spanish from Texas. Burr, who was touring what was then the Western United States after mortally wounding Alexander Hamilton in a duel, stayed with the Jacksons at the Hermitage in 1805.[65] He eventually persuaded Jackson to join his adventure. In October 1806, Jackson wrote James Winchester that the United States "can conquer not only [Florida], but all Spanish North America".[66] He informed the Tennessee militia that it should be ready to march at a moment's notice "when the government and constituted authority of our country require it",[67] and agreed to provide boats and provisions for the expedition.[65] Jackson sent a letter to President Thomas Jefferson telling him that Tennessee was ready to defend the nation's honor.[68]

Jackson also expressed uncertainty about the enterprise. He warned the Governor of Louisiana William Claiborne and Tennessee Senator Daniel Smith that some of the people involved in the adventure might be intending to break away from the United States.[69] In December, Jefferson ordered Burr to be arrested for treason.[65] Jackson, safe from arrest because of his extensive paper trail, organized the militia to capture the conspirators.[70] He testified before a grand jury in 1807, implying that it was Burr's associate James Wilkinson who was guilty of treason, not Burr. Burr was acquitted of the charges.[71]

Military career

War of 1812

Creek War

On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war on the United Kingdom, launching the War of 1812.[72] Though the war was primarily caused by maritime issues,[73] it provided white American settlers on the southern frontier the opportunity to overcome Native American resistance to settlement, undermine British support of the Native American tribes,[74] and pry Florida from the Spanish Empire.[75]

Jackson immediately offered to raise volunteers for the war, but he was not called to duty until after the United States military was repeatedly defeated in the American Northwest. After these defeats, in January 1813, Jackson enlisted over 2,000 volunteers,[76] who were ordered to head to New Orleans to defend against a British attack.[77][78][79][80] When his forces arrived at Natchez, they were ordered to halt by General Wilkinson, the commander at New Orleans and the man Jackson accused of treason after the Burr adventure. A little later, Jackson received a letter from the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, stating that his volunteers were not needed,[81] and that they were to hand over any supplies to Wilkinson and disband.[82] Jackson refused to disband his troops; instead, he led them on the difficult march back to Nashville, earning the nickname "Hickory" (later "Old Hickory") for his toughness.[83]

After returning to Nashville, Jackson and one of his colonels, John Coffee, got into a street brawl over honor with the brothers Jesse and Thomas Hart Benton. Nobody was killed, but Jackson received a gunshot in the shoulder that nearly killed him.[84]

Jackson had not fully recovered from his wounds when Governor Willie Blount called out the militia in September 1813 following the August Fort Mims Massacre.[85] The Red Sticks, a confederate faction that had allied with Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief who was fighting with the British against the United States, killed about 250 militia men and civilians at Fort Mims in retaliation for an ambush by American militia at Burnt Corn Creek.[86]

Jackson's objective was to destroy the Red Sticks.[87] He headed south from Fayetteville, Tennessee, in October with 2,500 militia, establishing Fort Strother as his supply base.[88] He sent his cavalry under General Coffee ahead of the main force, destroying Red Stick villages and capturing supplies.[89][90] Coffee defeated a band of Red Sticks at the Battle of Tallushatchee on November 3, and Jackson defeated another band later that month at the Battle of Talladega.[91]

By January 1814, the expiration of enlistments and desertion had reduced Jackson's force by about 1,000 volunteers,[92] but he continued the offensive.[93] The Red Sticks counterattacked at the Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek. Jackson repelled them but was forced to withdraw to Fort Strother.[94] Jackson's army was reinforced by further recruitment and the addition of a regular army unit, the 39th U.S. Infantry Regiment. The combined force of 3,000 men—including Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek allies—attacked a Red Stick fort at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River, which was manned by about 1,000 men.[95] The Red Sticks were overwhelmed and massacred.[96] Almost all their warriors were killed, and nearly 300 women and children were taken prisoner and distributed to Jackson's Native

└ Battle of Horseshoe Bend
War of 1812
├ Battle of Pensacola
└ Battle of New Orleans
First Seminole War
├ Capture of St. Marks
└ Siege of Fort Barrancas

The Brave Boy of the Waxhaws, an 1876 Currier and Ives lithograph depicting a young Andrew Jackson defending himself against a British officer during the American Revolutionary War

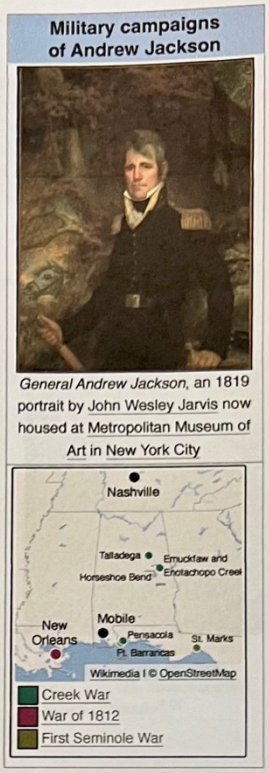
Portrait of Jackson's wife Rachel, 1823 by Ralph Eleaser Whiteside Earl now housed at The Hermitage in Nashville

Aaron and Hannah Jackson, two slaves owned by Jackson, photographed by Theodore Schleier in 1865, now housed at The Hermitage in Nashville

American allies.[96] The victory broke the power of the Red Sticks.[97] Jackson continued his scorched-earth campaign of burning villages, destroying supplies,[97] and starving Red Stick women and children.[98] The campaign ended when William Weatherford, the Red Stick leader, surrendered,[99] although some Red Sticks fled to East Florida.[100]

On June 8, Jackson was appointed a brigadier general in the United States Army, and 10 days later was made a brevet major general with command of the Seventh Military District, which included Tennessee, Louisiana, the Mississippi Territory, and the Muscogee Creek Confederacy.[101] With President James Madison's approval, Jackson imposed the Treaty of Fort Jackson. The treaty required all Creek, including those who had remained allies, to surrender 23,000,000 acres (9,300,000 ha) of land to the United States.[102]

Jackson then turned his attention to the British and Spanish. He moved his forces to Mobile, Alabama, in August, accused the Spanish governor of West Florida, Mateo González Manrique, of arming the Red Sticks, and threatened to attack. The governor responded by inviting the British to land at Pensacola to defend it, which violated Spanish neutrality.[103] The British attempted to capture Mobile, but their invasion fleet was repulsed at Fort Bowyer.[104] Jackson then invaded Florida, defeating the Spanish and British forces at the Battle of Pensacola on November 7.[105] Afterwards, the Spanish surrendered, and the British withdrew. Weeks later, Jackson learned that the British were planning an attack on New Orleans, which was the gateway to the Lower Mississippi River and control of the American West.[106] He evacuated Pensacola, strengthened the garrison at Mobile,[107] and led his troops to New Orleans.[108]



General Andrew Jackson, an 1819 portrait by John Wesley Jarvis now housed at Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City

Battle of New Orleans

Jackson arrived in New Orleans on December 1, 1814.[109] There he instituted martial law because he worried about the loyalty of the city's Creole and Spanish inhabitants. He augmented his force by forming an alliance with Jean Lafitte's smugglers and raising units of free African Americans and Creek,[110] paying non-white volunteers the same salary as whites.[111] This gave Jackson a force of about 5,000 men when the British arrived.[112]

The British arrived in New Orleans in mid-December.[113] Admiral Alexander Cochrane was the overall commander of the operation;[114] General Edward Pakenham commanded the army of 10,000 soldiers, many of whom had served in the Napoleonic Wars.[115] As the British advanced up the east bank of the Mississippi River, Jackson constructed a fortified position to block them.[116] The climactic battle took place on January 8 when the British launched a frontal assault. Their troops made easy targets for the Americans protected by their parapets, and the attack ended in disaster.[117] The British suffered over 2,000 casualties (including Pakenham) to the Americans' 60.[118]

The British decamped from New Orleans at the end of January, but they still remained a threat.[119] Jackson refused to lift martial law and kept the militia under arms. He approved the execution of six militiamen for desertion.[120] Some Creoles registered as French citizens with the French consul and demanded to be discharged from the militia due to their foreign nationality. Jackson then ordered all French citizens to leave the city within three days,[121] and had a member of the Louisiana legislature, Louis Louaillier, arrested when he wrote a newspaper article criticizing Jackson's continuation of martial law. U.S. District Court Judge Dominic A. Hall signed a writ of *habeas corpus* for Louaillier's release. Jackson had Hall arrested too. A military court ordered Louaillier's release, but Jackson kept him in prison and evicted Hall from the city.[122] Although Jackson lifted martial law when he received official word that the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war with the British, had been signed,[123] his previous behavior tainted his reputation in New Orleans.[124]

Battle of New Orleans, an 1858 painting by Dennis Malone Carter now housed at The Historic New Orleans Collection

Jackson's victory made him a national hero,[125] and on February 27, 1815, he was given the Thanks of Congress and awarded a Congressional Gold Medal.[126] Though the Treaty of Ghent had been signed in December 1814 before the Battle of New Orleans was fought,[127] Jackson's victory assured that the United States control of the region between Mobile and New Orleans would not be effectively contested by European powers. This control allowed the American government to ignore one of the articles in the treaty, which would have returned the Creek lands taken in the Treaty of Fort Jackson.[128]

First Seminole War

Following the war, Jackson remained in command of troops in the southern half of the United States and was permitted to make his headquarters at the Hermitage.[129] Jackson continued to displace the Native Americans in areas under his command. Despite resistance from Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford, he signed five treaties between 1816 and 1820 in which the Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee and Chickasaw ceded tens of millions of acres of land to the United States. These included the Treaty of Tuscaloosa and the Treaty of Doak's Stand.[130][131]

A c. 1846 engraving of the trial of Robert Ambrister by William Croome in *Pictorial Life of Andrew Jackson* by John Frost

Jackson soon became embroiled in conflict in Florida. The former British post at Prospect Bluff, which became known to Americans as "the Negro fort", remained occupied by more than a thousand former soldiers of the British Royal and Colonial Marines, escaped slaves, and various indigenous peoples.[132] It had become a magnet for escapees[132] and was seen as a threat to the property rights of American enslavers,[133] even a potential source of insurrection by enslaved people.[134] Jackson ordered Colonel Duncan Clinch to capture the fort in July 1816. He destroyed it and killed many of the garrison. Some survivors were enslaved while others fled into the wilderness of Florida.[135]

White American settlers were in constant conflict with Native American people collectively known as the Seminoles, who straddled the border between the U.S. and Florida.[136] In December 1817, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun initiated the First Seminole War by ordering Jackson to lead a campaign "with full power to conduct the war as he may think best".[137] Jackson believed the best way to do this was to seize

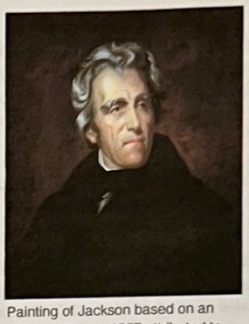
Florida from Spain once and for all. Before departing, Jackson wrote to President James Monroe, "Let it be signified to me through any channel ... that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished."[138]

Jackson invaded Florida, captured the Spanish fort of St. Marks, and occupied Pensacola. Seminole and Spanish resistance was effectively ended by May 1818. He also captured two British subjects, Robert Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, who had been working with the Seminoles. After a brief trial, Jackson executed both of them, causing an international incident with the British. Jackson's actions polarized Monroe's cabinet. The occupied territories were returned to Spain.[139] Calhoun wanted him censured for violating the Constitution, since the United States had not declared war on Spain. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams defended him as he thought Jackson's occupation of Pensacola would lead Spain to sell Florida, which Spain did in the Adams–Onís Treaty of 1819.[140] In February 1819, a congressional investigation exonerated Jackson,[141] and his victory was instrumental in convincing the Seminoles to sign the Treaty of Moultrie Creek in 1823, which surrendered much of their land in Florida.[142]

Presidential aspirations

Election of 1824

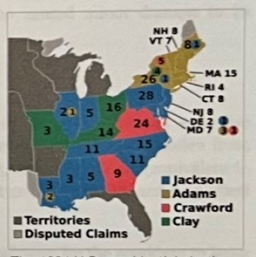
The Panic of 1819, the United States' first prolonged financial depression, caused Congress to reduce the military's size and abolish Jackson's generalship.[144] In compensation, Monroe made him the first territorial governor of Florida in 1821.[145] He served as the governor for two months, returning to the Hermitage in ill health.[146] During his convalescence, Jackson, who had been a Freemason since at least 1798, became the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee for 1822–1823.[147] Around this time, he also completed negotiations for Tennessee to purchase Chickasaw lands. This became known as the Jackson Purchase. Jackson, Overton, and another colleague had speculated in some of the land and used their portion to form the town of Memphis.[148]



Painting of Jackson based on an 1824 portrait, c. 1857 attributed to Thomas Sully now housed at the U. S. Senate Collection[143]

In 1822, Jackson agreed to run in the 1824 presidential election, and he was nominated by the Tennessee legislature in July.[149] At the time, the Federalist Party had collapsed, and there were four major contenders for the Democratic-Republican Party nomination: William Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun. Jackson was intended to be a stalking horse candidate to prevent Tennessee's electoral votes from going to Crawford, who was seen as a Washington insider. Jackson unexpectedly garnered popular support outside of Tennessee and became a serious candidate.[144] He benefited from the expansion of suffrage among white males that followed the conclusion of the War of 1812.[150][151] He was a popular war hero whose reputation suggested he had the decisiveness and independence to bring reform to Washington.[152] He also was promoted as an outsider who stood for all the people, blaming banks for the country's depression.[153]

During his presidential candidacy, Jackson reluctantly ran for one of Tennessee's U.S. Senate seats. Jackson's political managers William Berkeley Lewis and John Eaton convinced him that he needed to defeat incumbent John Williams, who opposed him. The legislature elected Jackson in October 1823.[154][155] He was attentive to his senatorial duties. He was appointed chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs but avoided debate or initiating legislation.[156] He used his time in the Senate to form alliances and make peace with old adversaries.[157] Eaton continued to campaign for Jackson's presidency, updating his biography and writing a series of widely circulated pseudonymous letters that portrayed Jackson as a champion of republican liberty.[158]



The 1824 U.S. presidential election results in which Jackson received a plurality of Electoral College votes. Subsequently, John Quincy Adams was elected the sixth president of the United States in a contingent election.

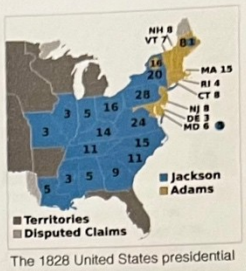
Democratic-Republican presidential nominees had historically been chosen by informal congressional nominating caucuses. In 1824, most of the Democratic-Republicans in Congress boycotted the caucus,[159] and the power to choose nominees was shifting to state nominating committees and legislatures.[160] Jackson was nominated by a Pennsylvania convention, making him not merely a regional candidate but the leading national contender.[161] When Jackson won the Pennsylvania nomination, Calhoun dropped out of the presidential race.[162] Afterwards, Jackson won the nomination in six other states and had a strong second-place finish in three others.[163]

In the presidential election, Jackson won a 42-percent plurality of the popular vote. More importantly, he won a plurality of electoral votes, receiving 99 votes from states in the South, West, and Mid-Atlantic. He was the only candidate to win states outside of his regional base: Adams dominated New England, Crawford won Virginia and Georgia, and Clay took three western states. Because no candidate had a majority of 131 electoral votes, the House of Representatives held a contingent election under the terms of the Twelfth Amendment. The amendment specifies that only the top three electoral vote-winners are eligible to be elected by the House, so Clay was eliminated from contention.[164] Clay, who was also Speaker of the House and presided over the election's resolution, saw a Jackson presidency as a disaster for the country.[165] Clay threw his support behind Adams, who won the contingent election on the first ballot. Adams appointed Clay as his Secretary of State, leading supporters of Jackson to accuse Clay and Adams of having struck a "corrupt bargain".[166] After the Congressional session concluded, Jackson resigned his Senate seat and returned to Tennessee.[167]

Election of 1828 and death of Rachel Jackson

After the election, Jackson's supporters formed a new party to undermine Adams and ensure he served only one term. Adams's presidency went poorly, and Adams's behavior undermined it. He was perceived as an intellectual elite who ignored the needs of the populace. He was unable to accomplish anything because Congress blocked his proposals.[168] In his First Annual Message to Congress, Adams stated that "we are palsied by the will of our constituents", which was interpreted as his being against representative democracy.[169] Jackson responded by championing the needs of ordinary citizens and declaring that "the voice of the people ... must be heard".[170]

Jackson was nominated for president by the Tennessee legislature in October 1825, more than three years before the 1828 election.[171] He gained powerful supporters in both the South and North, including Calhoun, who became Jackson's vice-presidential running mate, and New York Senator Martin Van Buren.[172] Meanwhile, Adams's support from the Southern states was eroded when he signed a tax on European imports, the Tariff of 1828, which was called the "Tariff of Abominations" by opponents, into law.[170] Jackson's victory in the presidential race was overwhelming. He won 56 percent of the popular vote and 68 percent of the electoral vote. The election ended the one-party system that had formed during the Era of Good Feelings as Jackson's supporters coalesced into the Democratic Party and the various groups who did not support him eventually formed the Whig Party.[173]



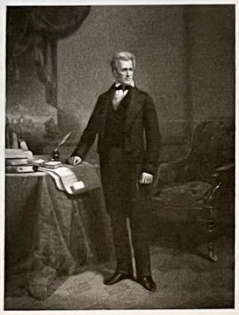
The 1828 United States presidential election results

The political campaign was dominated by the personal abuse that partisans flung at both candidates.[174] Jackson was accused of being the son of an English prostitute and a mulatto,[175][176] and he was labeled a slave trader who trafficked in human flesh.[177] A series of pamphlets known as the Coffin Handbills[178] accused him of having murdered 18 white men, including the soldiers he had executed for desertion and alleging that he stabbed a man in the back with his cane.[179][180] They stated that he had intentionally massacred Native American women and children at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, ate the bodies of Native Americans he killed in battle,[181][182] and threatened to cut off the ears of congressmen who questioned his behavior during the First Seminole War.[183]

Jackson and Rachel were accused of adultery for living together before her divorce was finalized,[184] and Rachel heard about the accusation.[185] She had been under stress throughout the election, and just as Jackson was preparing to head to Washington for his inauguration, she fell ill.[186] She did not live to see her husband become president, dying of a stroke or heart attack a few days later.[185] Jackson believed that the abuse from Adams' supporters had hastened her death, stating at her funeral: "May God Almighty forgive her murderers, as I know she forgave them. I never can."[187]

Presidency (1829–1837)

Inauguration


Engraving of President Jackson by A. H. Ritchie based on Dennis Malone Carter's portrait, *c.* 1860

Jackson arrived in Washington, D.C., on February 11, and began forming his cabinet.[188] He chose Van Buren as Secretary of State, John Eaton as Secretary of War, Samuel D. Ingham as Secretary of Treasury, John Branch as Secretary of Navy, John M. Berrien as Attorney General, and William T. Barry as Postmaster General.[189] Jackson was inaugurated on March 4, 1829; Adams, who was embittered by his defeat, refused to attend.[190] Jackson become the first president-elect to take the oath of office on the East Portico of the U.S. Capitol.[191] In his inaugural address, he promised to protect the sovereignty of the states, respect the limits of the presidency, reform the government by removing disloyal or incompetent appointees, and observe a fair policy toward Native Americans.[192] Jackson invited the public to the White House, which was promptly overrun by well-wishers who caused minor damage to its furnishings. The spectacle earned him the nickname "King Mob".[193]

Reforms and rotation in office

Jackson believed that Adams's administration had been corrupt and he initiated investigations into all executive departments.[194] These investigations revealed that $280,000 (equivalent to $8,000,000 in 2023) was stolen from the Treasury. They also resulted in a reduction in costs to the Department of the Navy, saving $1 million (equivalent to $28,600,000 in 2023).[195] Jackson asked Congress to tighten laws on embezzlement and tax evasion, and he pushed for an improved government accounting system.[196]

Jackson implemented a principle he called "rotation in office". The previous custom had been for the president to leave the existing appointees in office, replacing them through attrition. Jackson enforced the Tenure of Office Act, an 1820 law that limited office tenure, authorized the president to remove current office holders, and appoint new ones.[197] During his first year in office, he removed about 10% of all federal employees[197] and replaced them with loyal Democrats.[198] Jackson argued that rotation in office reduced corruption[199] by making officeholders responsible to the popular will,[200] but it functioned as political patronage and became known as the spoils system.[201][199]

Petticoat affair

Jackson spent much of his time during his first two and a half years in office dealing with what came to be known as the "Petticoat Affair" or "Eaton Affair".[202][203] The affair focused on Secretary of War Eaton's wife, Margaret. She had a reputation for being promiscuous, and like Rachel Jackson, she was accused of adultery. She and Eaton had been close before her first husband John Timberlake died, and they married nine months after his death.[204] With the exception of Barry's wife Catherine,[205] the cabinet members' wives followed the lead of Vice-president Calhoun's wife Floride and refused to socialize with the Eatons.[206] Though Jackson defended Margaret, her presence split the cabinet, which had been so ineffective that he rarely called it into session,[189] and the ongoing disagreement led to its dissolution.[207]

A lithograph cartoon, *The Celeste-al Cabinet*, by Albert A. Hoffay, published by Henry R. Robinson in 1836, depicting Jackson's cabinet during the Petticoat Affair; "Celeste" is Margaret Eaton.

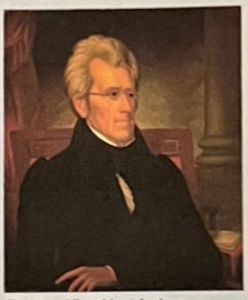
In the spring of 1831, Jackson demanded the resignations of all the cabinet members except Barry,[208] who would resign in 1835 when a Congressional investigation revealed his mismanagement of the Post Office.[209] Jackson tried to compensate Van Buren by appointing him the Minister to Great Britain, but Calhoun blocked the nomination with a tie-breaking vote against it.[208] Van Buren—along with newspaper editors Amos Kendall[210] and Francis Preston Blair[211]—would become regular participants in Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet, an unofficial, varying group of advisors that Jackson turned to for decision making even after he had formed a new official cabinet.[212]

Indian Removal Act

Jackson's presidency marked the beginning of a national policy of Native American removal.[208] Before Jackson took office, the relationship between the southern states and the Native American tribes who lived within their boundaries was strained. The states felt that they had full jurisdiction over their territories; the native tribes saw themselves as autonomous nations that had a right to the land they lived on.[214] Significant portions of the five major tribes in the area then known as the Southwest—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminoles— began to adopt white culture, including education, agricultural techniques, a road system, and rudimentary manufacturing.[215] In the case of the tensions between the state of Georgia and the Cherokee, Adams had tried to address the issue encouraging Cherokee emigration west of the Mississippi through financial incentives, but most refused.[216]

The Indian Removal Act and treaties involving Jackson before his presidency displaced most of the major tribes of the Southeast from their traditional territories east of the Mississippi River.

In the first days of Jackson's presidency, some southern states passed legislation extending state jurisdiction to Native American lands.[217] Jackson supported the states' right to do so.[218][219] His position was later made clear in the 1832 Supreme Court test case of this legislation, *Worcester v. Georgia*. Georgia had arrested a group of missionaries for entering Cherokee territory without a permit; the Cherokee declared these arrests illegal. The court under Chief Justice John Marshall decided in favor of the Cherokee: imposition of Georgia law on the Cherokee was unconstitutional.[220] Horace Greeley alleges that when Jackson heard the ruling, he said, "Well, John Marshall has made his decision, but now let him enforce it."[221] Although the quote may be apocryphal, Jackson made it clear he would not use the federal government to enforce the ruling.[222][223][224]



Portrait of President Andrew Jackson, c. 1830–1832 by Ralph Eleaser Whiteside Earl now housed at the North Carolina Museum of Art

Jackson used the power of the federal government to enforce the separation of Indigenous tribes and whites.[225] In May 1830, Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which Congress had narrowly passed.[226] It gave the president the right to negotiate treaties to buy tribal lands in the eastern part of the United States in exchange for lands set aside for Native Americans west of the Mississippi,[227] as well as broad discretion on how to use the federal funds allocated to the negotiations.[228] The law was supposed to be a voluntary relocation program, but it was not implemented as one. Jackson's administration often achieved agreement to relocate through bribes, fraud and intimidation,[229] and the leaders who signed the treaties often did not represent the entire tribe.[230] The relocations could be a source of misery too: the Choctaw relocation was rife with corruption, theft, and mismanagement that brought great suffering to that people.[231]

In 1830, Jackson personally negotiated with the Chickasaw, who quickly agreed to move.[232] In the same year, Choctaw leaders signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek; the majority did not want the treaty but complied with its terms.[233] In 1832, Seminole leaders signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing, which stipulated that the Seminoles would move west and become part of the Muscogee Creek Confederacy if they found the new land suitable.[234] Most Seminoles refused to move, leading to the Second Seminole War in 1835 that lasted six years.[230] Members of the Muscogee Creek Confederacy ceded their land to the state of Alabama in the Treaty of Cusseta of 1832. Their private ownership of the land was to be protected, but the federal government did not enforce this. The government did encourage voluntary removal until the Creek War of 1836, after which almost all Creek were removed to Oklahoma territory.[235] In 1836, Cherokee leaders ceded their land to the government by the Treaty of New Echota.[236] Their removal, known as the Trail of Tears, was enforced by Jackson's successor, Van Buren.[237]

Jackson also applied the removal policy in the Northwest. He was not successful in removing the Iroquois Confederacy in New York, but when some members of the Meskwaki (Fox) and the Sauk triggered the Black Hawk War by trying to cross back to the east side of the Mississippi, the peace treaties ratified after their defeat reduced their lands further.[238]

During his administration, he made about 70 treaties with American Indian tribes. He had removed almost all the Native Americans east of the Mississippi and south of Lake Michigan, about 70,000 people, from the United States;[239] though it was done at the cost of thousands of Native American lives lost because of the unsanitary conditions and epidemics arising from their dislocation, as well as their resistance to expulsion.[240] Jackson's implementation of the Indian Removal Act contributed to his popularity with his constituency. He added over 170,000 square miles of land to the public domain, which primarily benefited the United States' agricultural interests. The act also benefited small farmers, as Jackson allowed them to purchase moderate plots at low prices and offered squatters on land formerly belonging to Native Americans the option to purchase it before it was offered for sale to others.[241]

Nullification crisis

Jackson had to confront another challenge that had been building up since the beginning of his first term. The Tariff of 1828, which had been passed in the last year of Adams' administration, set a protective tariff at a very high rate to prevent the manufacturing industries in the Northern states from having to compete with lower-priced imports from Britain.[242] The tariff reduced the income of southern cotton planters: it propped up consumer prices, but not the price of cotton which had severely declined in the previous decade.[243] Immediately after the tariff's passage, the South Carolina Exposition and Protest was sent to the U.S. Senate.[244] This document, which had been anonymously written by John C. Calhoun, asserted that the constitution was a compact of individual states[245] and when the federal government went beyond its delegated duties, such as enacting a protective tariff, a state had a right to declare this action unconstitutional and make the act null and void within the borders of that state.[246]

Jackson suspected Calhoun of writing the Exposition and Protest and opposed his interpretation. Jackson argued that Congress had full authority to enact tariffs and that a dissenting state was denying the will of the majority.[247] He also needed the tariff, which generated 90% of the federal revenue,[248] to achieve another of his presidential goals, eliminating the national debt.[249] The issue developed into a personal rivalry between the two men. For example, during a celebration of Thomas Jefferson's birthday on April 13, 1830, the attendees gave after-dinner toasts. Jackson toasted: "Our federal Union: It must be preserved!" – a clear challenge to nullification. Calhoun, whose toast immediately followed, rebutted: "The Union: Next to our Liberty, the most dear!"[250]

As a compromise, Jackson supported the Tariff of 1832, which reduced the duties from the Tariff of 1828 by almost half. The bill was signed on July 9, but failed to satisfy extremists on either side.[251] On November 24, South Carolina had passed the Ordinance of Nullification,[252] declaring both tariffs null and void and threatening to secede from the United States if the federal government tried to use force to collect the duties.[253][254] In response, Jackson sent warships to Charleston harbor, and threatened to hang any man who worked to support nullification or secession.[255] On December 10, he issued a

proclamation against the "nullifiers",[256] condemning nullification as contrary to the Constitution's letter and spirit, rejecting the right of secession, and declaring that South Carolina stood on "the brink of insurrection and treason".[257] On December 28, Calhoun, who had been elected to the U.S. Senate, resigned as vice president.[258]

Jackson asked Congress to pass a "Force Bill" authorizing the military to enforce the tariff. It was attacked by Calhoun as despotism.[259] Meanwhile, Calhoun and Clay began to work on a new compromise tariff. Jackson saw it as an effective way to end the confrontation but insisted on the passage of the Force Bill before he signed.[260] On March 2, he signed into law the Force Bill and the Tariff of 1833. The South Carolina Convention then met and rescinded its nullification ordinance but nullified the Force Bill in a final act of defiance.[261] Two months later, Jackson reflected on South Carolina's nullification: "the tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro, or slavery question".[262]

A Civil War-era lithograph cartoon of Calhoun bowing before Jackson during the nullification crisis by Pendleton's Lithography and published by L. Prang & Co. in 1864

Bank War and Election of 1832

Bank Veto

A few weeks after his inauguration, Jackson started looking into how he could replace the Second Bank of the United States.[263] The Bank had been chartered by President Madison in 1816 to restore the United States economy after the War of 1812. Monroe had appointed Nicholas Biddle as the Bank's executive.[264] The Bank was a repository for the country's public monies which also serviced the national debt; it was formed as a for-profit entity that looked after the concerns of its shareholders.[265] In 1828, the country was prosperous [266] and the currency was stable,[267] but Jackson saw the Bank as a fourth branch of government run by an elite,[263] what he called the "money power" that sought to control the labor and earnings of the "real people", who depend on their own efforts to succeed: the planters, farmers, mechanics, and laborers.[268] Additionally, Jackson's own near bankruptcy in 1804 due to credit-fuelled land speculation had biased him against paper money and toward a policy favorable to hard money.[269]

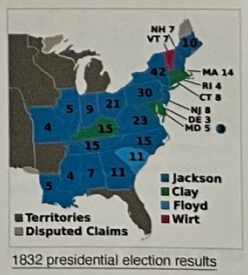
An 1833 lithograph cartoon of Jackson destroying the Second Bank of the United States with his "Removal Notice" by Zachariah Downing, published by Henry R. Robinson; Nicholas Biddle is portrayed as the devil.

In his First Annual Address in December 1829, Jackson openly challenged the Bank by questioning its constitutionality and the soundness of its money.[270] Jackson's supporters further alleged that it gave preferential loans to speculators and merchants over artisans and farmers, that it used its money to bribe congressmen and the press, and that it had ties with foreign creditors. Biddle responded to Jackson's challenge in early 1830 by using the Bank's vast financial holding to ensure the Bank's reputation, and his supporters argued that the Bank was the key to prosperity and stable commerce. By the time of the 1832 election, Biddle had spent over $250,000 (equivalent to $7,630,000 in 2023) in printing pamphlets, lobbying for pro-Bank legislation, hiring agents and giving loans to editors and congressmen.[271]

On the surface, Jackson's and Biddle's positions did not appear irreconcilable. Jackson seemed open to keeping the Bank if it could include some degree of Federal oversight, limit its real estate holdings, and have its property subject to taxation by the states.[272] Many of Jackson's cabinet members thought a compromise was possible. In 1831, Treasury Secretary Louis McLane told Biddle that Jackson was open to chartering a modified version of the Bank, but Biddle did not consult Jackson directly. Privately, Jackson expressed opposition to the Bank;[273] publicly, he announced that he would leave the decision concerning the Bank in the hands of the people.[274] Biddle was finally convinced to take open action by Henry Clay, who had decided to run for president against Jackson in the 1832 election. Biddle would agree to seek renewal of the charter two years earlier than scheduled. Clay argued that Jackson was in a bind. If he vetoed the charter, he would lose the votes of his pro-Bank constituents in Pennsylvania; but if he signed the charter, he would lose his anti-Bank constituents. After the recharter bill was passed, Jackson vetoed it on July 10, 1832, arguing that the country should not surrender the will of the majority to the desires of the wealthy.[275]

Election of 1832

The 1832 presidential election demonstrated the rapid development of political parties during Jackson's presidency. The Democratic Party's first national convention, held in Baltimore, nominated Jackson's choice for vice president, Martin Van Buren. The National Republican Party, which had held its first convention in Baltimore earlier in December 1831, nominated Clay, now a senator from Kentucky, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania.[276] An Anti-Masonic Party, with a platform built around opposition to Freemasonry,[277] supported neither Jackson nor Clay, who both were Masons. The party nominated William Wirt of Maryland and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania.[278]



1832 presidential election results

In addition to the votes Jackson would lose because of the bank veto, Clay hoped that Jackson's Indian Removal Act would alienate voters in the East; but Jackson's losses were offset by the Act's popularity in the West and Southwest. Clay had also expected that Jackson would lose votes because of his stand on internal improvements.[279] Jackson had vetoed the Maysville Road bill, which funded an upgrade of a section of the National Road in Clay's state of Kentucky; Jackson had argued it was unconstitutional to fund internal improvements using national funds for local projects.[280]

Clay's strategy failed. Jackson was able to mobilize the Democratic Party's strong political networks.[281] The Northeast supported Jackson because he was in favor of maintaining a stiff tariff; the West supported him because the Indian Removal Act reduced the number of Native Americans in the region and made available more public land.[282] Except for South Carolina, which passed the Ordinance of Nullification during

the election month and refused to support any party by giving its votes to the future Governor of Virginia John B. Floyd,[283] the South supported Jackson for implementing the Indian Removal Act, as well as for his willingness to compromise by signing the Tariff of 1832.[284] Jackson won the election by a landslide, receiving 55 percent of the popular vote and 219 electoral votes.[281]

Removal of deposits and censure

Jackson saw his victory as a mandate to continue his war on the Bank's control over the national economy.[285] In 1833, Jackson signed an executive order ending the deposit of Treasury receipts in the bank.[286] When Secretary of the Treasury McLane refused to execute the order, Jackson replaced him with William J. Duane, who also refused. Jackson then appointed Roger B. Taney as acting secretary, who implemented Jackson's policy.[287] With the loss of federal deposits, the Bank had to contract its credit.[288] Biddle used this contraction to create an economic downturn in an attempt to get Jackson to compromise. Biddle wrote, "Nothing but the evidence of suffering abroad will produce any effect in Congress."[289] The attempt did not succeed: the economy recovered and Biddle was blamed for the recession.[290]

An 1832 lithograph cartoon, "King Andrew the First" by an anonymous artist, depicting Jackson

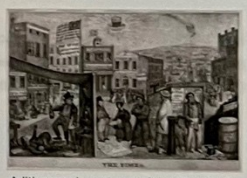
Jackson's actions led those who disagreed with him to form the Whig Party. They claimed to oppose Jackson's expansion of executive power, calling him "King Andrew the First", and naming their party after the English Whigs who opposed the British monarchy in the 17th century.[291] In March 1834, the Senate censured Jackson for inappropriately taking authority for the Treasury Department when it was the responsibility of Congress and refused to confirm Taney's appointment as secretary of the treasury.[292] In April, however, the House declared that the bank should not be rechartered. By July 1836, the Bank no longer held any federal deposits.[293]

Jackson had Federal funds deposited into state banks friendly to the administration's policies, which critics called pet banks.[294] The number of these state banks more than doubled during Jackson's administration,[287] and investment patterns changed. The Bank, which had been the federal government's fiscal agent, invested heavily in trade and financed interregional and international trade. State banks were more responsive to state governments and invested heavily in land development, land speculation, and state public works projects.[295] In spite of the efforts of Taney's successor, Levi Woodbury, to control them, the pet banks expanded their loans, helping to create a speculative boom in the final years of Jackson's administration.[296]

In January 1835, Jackson paid off the national debt, the only time in U.S. history that it had been accomplished.[297][298] It was paid down through tariff revenues,[281] carefully managing federal funding of internal improvements like roads and canals,[299] and the sale of public lands.[300] Between 1834 and 1836, the government had an unprecedented spike in land sales:[301] At its peak in 1836, the profits from land sales were eight to twelve times higher than a typical year.[302] During Jackson's presidency, 63 million acres of public land—about the size of the state of Oklahoma—was sold.[303] After Jackson's term expired in 1837, a Democrat-majority Senate expunged Jackson's censure.[304][305]

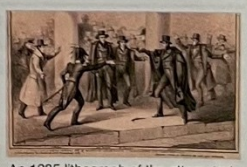
Panic of 1837

Despite the economic boom following Jackson's victory in the Bank War, land speculation in the west caused the Panic of 1837.[306] Jackson's transfer of federal monies to state banks in 1833 caused western banks to relax their lending standards;[307] the Indian Removal Act made large amounts of former Native American lands available for purchase and speculation.[308] Two of Jackson's acts in 1836 contributed to the Panic of 1837. One was the Specie Circular, which mandated western lands only be purchased by money backed by specie. The act was intended to stabilize the economy by reducing speculation on credit, but it caused a drain of gold and silver from the Eastern banks to the Western banks to address the needs of financing land transactions.[309] The other was the Deposit and Distribution Act, which transferred federal monies from eastern to western state banks. Together, they left Eastern banks unable to pay specie to the British when they recalled their loans to address their economic problems in international trade.[310] The panic drove the U.S. economy into a depression that lasted until 1841.[306]


A lithograph cartoon of the Panic of 1837 published by Henry R. Robinson in 1837; Jackson is symbolized by "glory" in the sky with top hat, spectacles, and pipe.

Physical assault and assassination attempt

Jackson was the first president to be subjected to both a physical assault and an assassination attempt.[311] On May 6, 1833, Robert B. Randolph struck Jackson in the face with his hand because Jackson had ordered Randolph's dismissal from the navy for embezzlement. Jackson declined to press charges.[312] While Jackson was leaving the United States Capitol on January 30, 1835, Richard Lawrence, an unemployed house painter from England, aimed a pistol at him, which misfired. Lawrence pulled out a second pistol, which also misfired. Jackson attacked Lawrence with his cane until others intervened to restrain Lawrence, who was later found not guilty by reason of insanity and institutionalized.[313][314]


An 1835 lithograph of the attempted assassination of Andrew Jackson, published by Endicott & Co.

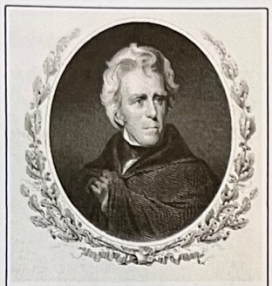
Slavery

During Jackson's presidency, slavery remained a minor political issue.[315] Though federal troops were used to crush Nat Turner's slave rebellion in 1831,[316] Jackson ordered them withdrawn immediately afterwards despite the petition of local citizens for them to remain for protection.[317] Jackson considered the issue too divisive to the nation and to the delicate alliances of the Democratic Party.[318]

Jackson's view was challenged when the American Anti-Slavery Society agitated for abolition[319] by sending anti-slavery tracts through the postal system into the South in 1835.[318] Jackson condemned these agitators as "monsters"[320] who should atone with their lives[321] because they were attempting to destroy the Union by encouraging sectionalism.[322] The act provoked riots in Charleston, and pro-slavery Southerners demanded that the postal service

ban distribution of the materials. To address the issue, Jackson authorized that the tracts could be sent only to subscribers, whose names could be made publicly accountable.[323] That December, Jackson called on Congress to prohibit the circulation through the South of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection".[324]

Foreign affairs



Engraved portrait of Jackson as president by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. This portrait has appeared on the $20 bill since 1929.[325]

The Jackson administration successfully negotiated a trade agreement with Siam, the first East Asian country to form a trade agreement with the U.S. The administration also made trade agreements with Great Britain, Spain, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.[326]

In his First Annual Message to Congress, Jackson addressed the issues of spoliation claims, demands of compensation for the capture of American ships and sailors by foreign nations during the Napoleonic Wars.[327] Using a combination of bluster and tact, he successfully settled these claims with Denmark, Portugal, and Spain,[326] but he had difficulty collecting spoliation claims from France, which was unwilling to pay an indemnity agreed to in an earlier treaty. Jackson asked Congress in 1834 to authorize reprisals against French property if the country failed to make payment, as well as to arm for defense.[327] In response, France put its Caribbean fleet on a wartime footing.[328] Both sides wanted to avoid a conflict, but the French wanted an apology for Jackson's belligerence. In his 1835 Annual Message to the Congress, Jackson asserted that he refused to apologize, but stated that he did not intend to "menace or insult the Government of France".[329] The French were assuaged and agreed to pay $5,000,000 (equivalent to $147,677,400 in 2023) to settle the claims.[330]

Since the early 1820s, large numbers of Americans had been immigrating into Texas, a territory of the newly independent nation of Mexico.[331] As early as 1824, Jackson had supported acquiring the region for the United States.[332] In 1829, he attempted to purchase it, but Mexico did not want to sell. By 1830, there were twice as many settlers from the United States as from Mexico, leading to tensions with the Mexican government that started the Texas Revolution. During the conflict, Jackson covertly allowed the settlers to obtain weapons and money from the United States.[333] They defeated the Mexican military in April 1836 and declared the region an independent country, the Republic of Texas. The new Republic asked Jackson to recognize and annex it. Although Jackson wanted to do so, he was hesitant because he was unsure it could maintain independence from Mexico.[326] He also was concerned because Texas had legalized slavery, which was an issue that could divide the Democrats during the 1836 election. Jackson recognized the Republic of Texas on the last full day of his presidency, March 3, 1837.[334]

Judiciary

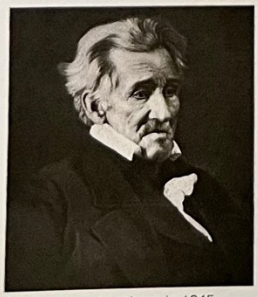
Jackson appointed six justices to the Supreme Court.[335] Most were undistinguished. Jackson nominated Roger B. Taney in January 1835 to the Court in reward for his services, but the nomination failed to win Senate approval.[336]

When Chief Justice Marshall died in 1835, Jackson again nominated Taney for Chief Justice; he was confirmed by the new Senate,[337] serving as Chief Justice until 1864.[338] He was regarded with respect during his career on the bench, but he is most remembered for his widely condemned decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.[339] On the last day of his presidency, Jackson signed the Judiciary Act of 1837,[340] which created two new Supreme Court seats and reorganized the federal circuit courts.[341]

States admitted to the Union

Two new states were admitted into the Union during Jackson's presidency: Arkansas (June 15, 1836) and Michigan (January 26, 1837). Both states increased Democratic power in Congress and helped Van Buren win the presidency in 1836, as new states tended to support the party that had done the most to admit them.[342]

Later life and death (1837–1845)



A mezzotint of Jackson in 1845

Jackson's presidency ended on March 4, 1837. Jackson left Washington, D.C., three days later, retiring to the Hermitage in Nashville, where he remained influential in national and state politics.[343] To reduce the inflation caused by the Panic of 1837, Jackson supported an Independent Treasury system that would restrict the government from printing paper money and require it to hold its money in silver and gold.[344]

During the 1840 presidential election,[345] Jackson campaigned for Van Buren in Tennessee, but Van Buren had become unpopular during the continuing depression. The Whig Party nominee, William Henry Harrison, won the election using a campaign style similar to that of the Democrats: Van Buren was depicted as an uncaring aristocrat, while Harrison's war record was glorified, and he was portrayed as a man of the people.[346] Harrison won the 1840 election and the Whigs captured majorities in both houses of Congress,[347] but Harrison died a month into his term, and was replaced by his vice president, former Democrat John Tyler. Jackson was encouraged because Tyler was not bound to party loyalties and praised him when he vetoed two Whig-sponsored bills to establish a new national bank in 1841.[348]

Jackson lobbied for the annexation of Texas. He was concerned that the British could use it as a base to threaten the United States[349] and insisted that it was part of the Louisiana Purchase.[350] Tyler signed a treaty of annexation in April 1844, but it became associated with the expansion of slavery and was not ratified. Van Buren, who had been Jackson's preferred candidate for the Democratic Party in the 1844 presidential election, had opposed annexation. Disappointed by Van Buren, Jackson convinced fellow Tennessean James K. Polk, who was then set to be Van Buren's running mate, to run as the Democratic Party's presidential nominee instead. Polk defeated Van Buren for the nomination and won the general election against Jackson's old enemy, Henry Clay. Meanwhile, the Senate passed a bill to annex Texas, and it was signed on March 1, 1845.[351]

Jackson died of dropsy, tuberculosis, and heart failure[352] at 78 years of age on June 8, 1845. He was surrounded by family, enslaved persons, and friends at his deathbed, and he was recorded to have said, "Do not cry; I hope to meet you all in Heaven—yes, all in Heaven, white and black." [353] He was buried in the same tomb as his wife Rachel.[354]

Personal life

Family

Jackson depicted in 1831 as a *Tennessee Gentleman* by Ralph Eleaser Whiteside Earl, now housed at Hermitage in Nashville

Jackson and Rachel had no children together but adopted Andrew Jackson Jr., the son of Rachel's deceased brother Severn Donelson. The Jacksons acted as guardians for Donelson's other children: John Samuel, Daniel Smith, and Andrew Jackson. They were also guardians for Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Rachel's orphaned grand nephew, and the orphaned children of a friend, Edward Butler – Caroline, Eliza, Edward, and Anthony – who lived with the Jacksons after their father died.[355] Jackson also had three Creek children living with them: Lyncoya, a Creek orphan Jackson had adopted after the Battle of Tallushatchee,[356] and two boys they called Theodore[357] and Charley.[358]

For the only time in U.S. history, two women acted simultaneously as unofficial first lady for the widower Jackson. Rachel's niece Emily Donelson was married to Andrew Jackson Donelson (who acted as Jackson's private secretary) and served as hostess at the White House. The president and Emily became estranged for over a year during the Petticoat affair, but they eventually reconciled and she resumed her duties as White House hostess. Sarah Yorke Jackson, the wife of Andrew Jackson Jr., became co-hostess of the White House in 1834, and took over all hostess duties after Emily died from tuberculosis in 1836.[359]

Temperament

Jackson had a reputation for being short-tempered and violent,[360] which terrified his opponents.[361] He was able to use his temper strategically to accomplish what he wanted.[362] He could keep it in check when necessary: his behavior was friendly and urbane when he went to Washington as senator during the campaign leading up to the 1824 election. According to Van Buren, he remained calm in times of difficulty and made his decisions deliberatively.[363]

He had the tendency to take things personally. If someone crossed him, he would often become obsessed with crushing them.[364] For example, on the last day of his presidency, Jackson declared he had only two regrets: that he had not hanged Henry Clay or shot John C. Calhoun.[365] He also had a strong sense of loyalty. He considered threats to his friends as threats to himself, but he demanded unquestioning loyalty in return.[366]

Jackson was self-confident,[367] without projecting a sense of self-importance.[368] This self-confidence gave him the ability to persevere in the face of adversity.[369] Once he decided on a plan of action, he would adhere to it.[370] His reputation for being both quick-tempered and confident worked to his advantage;[371] it misled opponents to see him as simple and direct, leading them to often understimate his political shrewdness.[372]

Religious faith

In 1838, Jackson became an official member of the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville.[373] Both his mother and his wife had been devout Presbyterians all their lives, but Jackson stated that he had postponed officially entering the church until after his retirement to avoid accusations that he had done so for political reasons.[374]

Legacy

The equestrian statue of Jackson commissioned by Judge Harry S. Truman and developed by Charles Keck in 1934 on display in front of the Jackson County Courthouse in Kansas City, Missouri

Jackson's legacy is controversial and polarizing.[375][376][377] His contemporary, Alexis de Tocqueville, depicted him as the spokesperson of the majority and their passions.[378] He has been variously described as a frontiersman personifying the independence of the American West,[379] a slave-owning member of the Southern gentry,[380] and a populist who promoted faith in the wisdom of the ordinary citizen.[381] He has been represented as a statesman who substantially advanced the spirit of democracy[382] and upheld the foundations of American constitutionalism,[383] as well as an autocratic demagogue who crushed political opposition and trampled the law.[384]

In the 1920s, Jackson's rise to power became associated with the idea of the "common man".[385] This idea defined the age as a populist rejection of social elites and a vindication of every person's value independent of class and status.[386] Jackson was seen as its personification,[387] an individual free of societal constraints who can achieve great things.[388] In 1945, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s influential *Age of Jackson* redefined Jackson's legacy through the lens of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal,[389] describing the common man as a member of the working class struggling against exploitation by business concerns.[390]

In the twenty-first century, Jackson's Indian Removal Act has been described as ethnic cleansing:[391] the use of force, terror and violence to make an area ethnically homogeneous.[392] To achieve the goal of separating Native Americans from the whites,[393] coercive force such as threats and bribes were used to effect removal[394] and unauthorized military force was used when there was resistance,[229] as in the case of the Second Seminole War.[395] The act has been discussed in the context of genocide,[396] and its role in the long-term destruction of Native American societies and their cultures continues to be debated.[397]

Jackson's legacy has been variously used by later presidents. Abraham Lincoln referenced Jackson's ideas when negotiating the challenges to the Union that he faced during 1861, including Jackson's understanding of the constitution during the nullification crisis and the president's right to interpret the constitution.[398] Franklin D. Roosevelt used Jackson to redefine the Democratic Party, describing him as a defender

of the exploited and downtrodden and as a fighter for social justice and human rights.[399][400] The members of the Progressive Party of 1948 to 1955 saw themselves as the heirs to Jackson.[401] Donald Trump used Jackson's legacy to present himself as the president of the common man,[402] praising Jackson for saving the country from a rising aristocracy and protecting American workers with a tariff.[403] In 2016, President Barack Obama's administration announced it was removing Jackson's portrait from the $20 bill and replacing it with one of Harriet Tubman.[404] Though the plan was put on hold during Trump's presidency, President Joe Biden's administration resumed it in 2021.[405]

Jackson is usually rated highly as a president, but his reputation began to decline in the 1960s.[406][407] His contradictory legacy is shown in opinion polls. A 2014 survey of political scientists rated Jackson as the ninth-highest rated president but the third-most polarizing. He was also ranked the third-most overrated president.[408] In a C-SPAN poll of historians, Jackson was ranked the 13th in 2009, 18th in 2017, and 22nd in 2021.[409]

Writings

- Feller, Daniel; Coens, Thomas; Moss, Laura-Eve; Moser, Harold D.; Alexander, Erik B.; Smith, Sam B.; Owsley, Harriet C.; Hoth, David R; Hoemann, George H.; McPherson, Sharon; Clift, J. Clint; Wells, Wyatt C., eds. (1980–2019). *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* (https://thepapersofandrewjackson.utk.edu/). University of Tennessee. (11 volumes to date; 17 volumes projected). Ongoing project to print all of Jackson's papers.
  - Vol. I, (1770–1803) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/1/); Vol. II, (1804–1813) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/5/); Vol. III, (1814–1815) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/4/); Vol. IV, (1816–1820) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/2/); Vol. V, (1821–1824) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/3/); Vol. VI, (1825–1828) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/12/); Vol. VII, (1829) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/11/); Vol. VIII, (1830) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/9/); Vol. IX, (1831) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/8/); Vol. X, (1832) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/6/); Vol. XI, (1833) (https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_jackson/13/)
- Bassett, John S., ed. (1926–1935). *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*. Carnegie Institution. (7 volumes; 2 available online).
  - Vol III, (1820–1828) (https://archive.org/details/correspondenceof0003unse_q4f7)(registration required); Vol IV, (1829–1832) (https://archive.org/details/correspondenceof0004unse_u3y7)(registration required)
- Richardson, James D., ed. (1897). "Andrew Jackson" (https://archive.org/details/acompilationmes09pringoog/page/n104). *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Vol. III. Bureau of National Literature and Art. pp. 996–1359. Reprints Jackson's major messages and reports.

Notes

a. Vice President Calhoun resigned from office. As this was prior to the adoption of the Twenty-fifth Amendment in 1967, a vacancy in the office of vice president was not filled until the next ensuing election and inauguration.

References

1. Brands 2005, pp. 11–15.
2. Gullan 2004, pp. xii, 308.
3. Remini 1977, p. 2.
4. Nowlan 2012, p. 257.
5. Meacham 2008, p. 11.
6. Brands 2005, p. 16.
7. Remini 1977, pp. 4–5.
8. Wilentz 2005, p. 16.
9. Remini 1977, p. 6.
10. Booraem 2001, p. 47.
11. Remini 1977, pp. 15.
12. Brands 2005, p. 24.
13. Remini 1977, p. 17.
14. Meacham 2008, p. 12; Remini 1977, p. 21.
15. Wilentz 2005, p. 15.
16. Booraem 2001, p. 104.
17. Remini 1977, pp. 23–24.
18. Wilentz 2005, p. 17.
19. Remini 1977, pp. 24.
20. Brands 2005, pp. 30–31.
21. Wilentz 2005, p. 9.
22. Remini 1977, p. 27.
23. Booraem 2001, pp. 133, 136.
24. Remini 1977, p. 29.
25. Brands 2005, p. 37.
26. Case, Steven (2009). "Andrew Jackson" (http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/jackson-andrew). State Library of North Carolina. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20170618060525/http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/jackson-andrew) from the original on June 18, 2017. Retrieved July 20, 2017.
27. Remini 1977, p. 34.
28. Remini 1977, p. 37.
29. Booraem 2001, pp. 190–191.
30. Wilentz 2005, p. 18.
31. Wilentz 2005, p. 19.
32. Remini 1977, p. 53.
33. Remini 1977, p. 87.
34. Clifton 1952, p. 24.
35. Durham 1990, pp. 218–219.
36. Owsley 1977, pp. 481–482.
37. Brands 2005, p. 63.
38. Meacham 2008, pp. 22–23.
39. Howe 2007, p. 277.
40. Brands 2005, p. 65.
41. Remini 1977, p. 68.
42. Brands 2005, p. 73.
43. Wilentz 2005, pp. 18–19.
44. Remini 1977, pp. 92–94.
45. Brands 2005, pp. 79–81.
46. Remini 1977, p. 112.
47. Ely 1981, pp. 144–145.
48. Brands 2005, pp. 104–105.
49. Meacham 2008, p. 25.
50. Remini 1977, p. 123.
51. Wilentz 2005, p. 21.
52. Howe 2007, p. 375; Sellers 1954, pp. 76–77.
53. Remini 1977, pp. 131–132.
54. Remini 1977, p. 379.
55. "Andrew Jackson's Enslaved Laborers" (https://web.archive.org/web/20140912055314/http://www.thehermitage.com/mansion-grounds/farm/slavery). The Hermitage. Archived from the original (http://www.thehermitage.com/mansion-grounds/farm/slavery) on September 12, 2014. Retrieved April 13, 2017.
56. "Enslaved Families: Understanding the Enslaved Families at the Hermitage" (https://thehermitage.com/learn/slavery/enslaved-families/). *thehermitage.com*. Retrieved August 23, 2022.
57. Warshauer 2006, p. 224.
58. Cheathem 2011, p. 328–329.
59. Feller, Daniel; Mullin, Marsha (August 1, 2019). "The Enslaved Household of President Andrew Jackson" (https://www.whitehousehistory.org/slavery-in-the-andrew-jackson-white-house). *White House Historical Association*.
60. Brown, DeNeen L. (May 1, 2017). "Hunting down runaway slaves: The cruel ads of Andrew Jackson and 'the master class' " (https://web.archive.org/web/20170411204030/https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/04/11/hunting-down-runaway-slaves-the-cruel-ads-of-andrew-jackson-and-the-master-class/). *The Washington Post*. Archived from the original (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/04/11/hunting-down-runaway-slaves-the-cruel-ads-of-andrew-jackson-and-the-master-class) on April 11, 2017.
61. Remini 1977, p. 55.
62. Meacham 2008, p. 35.
63. Brands 2005, p. 138.
64. Remini 1977, p. 143.

Letter of John Donelson (1755 - 1830)

Camp Above Orleans January 27th 1815

Dear Father

This is the first Male by which I have had an opprotunity of wrting you Since my return from the encampment below Orleans I expect before you recieve this letter you will have heard of all our Christmas phandangoes in this quarter, and particularly of the night of the 23d December; which adds new luster to the Brillient achiements of the Tennessee volunteers; to them alone this Country owes o[missing] Salvation - If it had not been for the Spirited mannerin which Genl. Coffee atttacted them on the night of the 23d. Orleans would in Spite of every exertion, fallen into the hands of the enemy next day, but from the Spirited manner in which he attacted them, they were led to believe that our force was four times as great as it actually was, they therefore made no further attempts until they landed thier whole force, which gave us time to Collect our forces and put every thing in complete order to recieve them, which we done in great Stile on the 28th. December 1st. and 2nd. January, for particulars I refer you to the General's official report- The force that marched down to meet the enemy on the night of the 23d. was about fifteen hundred Genl. Coffee had about eight hundred of his Brigade to them the whole is due, the force of the enemy from thier own Statement was four thousand on the night of the 23d. and they say that they were attacted by five thousand Yankees - I came very nigh falling into the hands of the enemy - with the whole of my company on the [....t {night ?)] of the 23d. Some minutes after the action had commenced Genl. Coffee ordered a charge; I immedeatly

as Soon as I understood the order moved on to the charge with my company the enemy gave way Both to my right and left, I charged on near Lord Packinghams quarters made Several prisoners and killed Several of the enemy, I passed on to the end of a large garden and halted discovering now of the enemy in front, and intended wating untill the men who charged on my left came up, but they were met and repulsed by the enemy, The enemy having discovered the position that I had tak.. fell immediately in my rear and marched directly toward me; I haled the men that had charged on my left, they answered that they were Genl. Coffee's men having by some means learned the General's name, they advanced within about ten steps ordered us for damned yankee rebels to lay down our arms, discovering my mistake, I answered them they be damned and ordered my men to open a fire upon them which they d..[did?] and Brought them to a halt, which enabled us to make good our retreat to the right and fell in with Col. Williamson's Regement. They advanced upon us at port arms and as soon as they discovered that we did not intend to surrender they were ready at once to fire, never did I experience such a Shower of Shot in all the engagements that I have been in heretofore three of my men fell dead, three surrendered the ballance I got off safe, Major Cavannough who had fallen in with me in the charge likewise

Surrendered. I have enjoyed my health tolerablywell Since I have been here. Uncle Jackson I am afraid will not be able to Stand this climate long he looks very badly at present and has broken very much My respects to all my friends

I am your affectionate son
John Donelson jr

D2 68DD2 68D

John Donelson jr

Januy 34th 1815

Journal of Andrew Jackson Edmondson

(original typeset version)

Located at: "Andrew Jackson Edmondson War of 1812 journal" (2022). *Documents*. 2.
https://digitalcommons.memphis.edu/speccoll-mss-misc19thcenturydocs1/2

Introduction

The following journal was written by Andrew Jackson Edmondson, born in 1793, the youngest child of Robert and Isabella (Buchanan) Edmondson. The family lived near Nashville, Tennessee. Andrew Jackson Edmondson died 30 April 1872, in Shelby County, Tennessee. His obituary appeared in The Memphis Sunday Appeal on 19 May 1872.

The manuscript of the journal is owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Emri leDavis Stidham, nee' Mary Edmondson Williams, and was prepared for publication by a great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Charlotte Adee Edmondson Elam. A Xerox copy of the manuscript may be seen in the Mississippi Valley Collection of the Library of Memphis State University.

Effort has been made to copy spelling and any punctuation exactly. Uncertain words have been underlined.

There is a loose note in the volume:

"This book contains my Grandfather, Andrew Jackson Edmondson's diary when a volunteer under General Andrew Jackson in 1812-13.

The original diary belongs to my Cousin Andrew J. Edmondson.

In 1870 or 1871 my Mother persuaded her father to copy the original diary for her. This book is the copy in Grandfather's own handwriting. .....

(Signed) Susie Bray Williams"

THE ONLY ERROR
COUSIN SUSIE MADE.

A Journal of the Campaign of a detachment of Volunteers to the lower Mississippi under General Jackson in 1812 & 13.

We were mustered into Service at Nashville on the 10th Decr 1812 or rendezvoused then for Service were mustered into service a few days after and encamped below Nashville on the plantation of David McGavock & called it Camp extortion & continued there until the end of the month while there we yoematry for the first term were called on to do camp duty & the Commissioned & noncommissioned officers belonging to the three Regiments were called together to hear a Genl order in relation to our duty as Sentinels previous to our being ordered in that duty there were two Regiments of Infantry & one of Cavalry the Cavalry commanded by Col. John Coffee the first regiment of infantry commanded by Col. William Hall the Second by Col. Thomas H. Benton to whose Regiment I belonged & the company command by Capt. Thos. Williamson 1st Lieut Joseph N. Williamson 2nd Lieut Lewis Dillahunty & myself Ensign. the first night we were placed on Guard Col. Thomas H. Benton was officer of the day & it was presumed from the drilling we had received in the day as to our duty there would be no difficulty in attending to it we were placed in a square each regiment occupying one side the life Guard & field officers occupying the other after Tattoo the officer of the day started on his rounds he commenced with the Cavalry officers first as that Regiment was considered as occupying the right Ours was on the left & he took the Gun of every centinyl until he came to me I was the first one on our square as he approached with his rounds I hailed and asked who comes there answered Rounds What Rounds Grand Rounds Stand Grand Rounds Advance Sergeant with the Countersign Countersign right pass grand rounds as they passed in front the Sentinel presents arms as I had some little pride in my ability to go through the Manual exercise well when the Col stopped in front of me he praised my performance & asked me to repeat the Manover which I did I had borrowed a rifle when I went on guard and very foolishly had loaded it the Col asked me if I understood Buonaparts manner of coming to a present which he said he prefered to any I told him I did not he proposed to show me being at a present I lowered the mussle of my gun to let him take it, but at that moment it

flashed across my mind I had heard my father say a sentinel was never to let any one come in reach of his arms and although I had entirely forgot our Genl orders the recollection of the fireside chats I had so often heard from my father and his old associates prevented me from the disgrace of a reprimand for the loss of my arms

hence I have always been a great stickler for those kind of chats as I think if anything can keep a love of country uppermost in our minds it is what we are taught by our parents in recounting their trials in old times but for my recollection of this my gun would have been gone I was so excited I talked so loud that it put the sentinel next me on his guard & he got no gun on our line when I told him not to touch my arms I was so excited & trembled so I came near shouting him Why says he if you dont let me have your gun how can I show you the French mode I told him I could not help it he must not touch it Why says he dont you know me Yes but you must not touch my gun with that he left me & went to try the rest & I failed to learn the French mode the last of the month we left our camp & went down near McGavocks ferry that is the two Regts of Infantry the Cavalry went some few miles south of Town & formed an encampment which was called Good exchange & where they staid until they took up their march for the lower Mississippi we remained at necessity until the 7th Jan^{y} when a portion of us marched down to Jonathan Robertsons & remained until the next evening when we went aboard of the boats and on the 9th we put off down the river had a cold snowy day encamped on the North side of Cumberland On the 10th we started on & landed at the mouth of Harpeth where we are to wait for the Genl & balance of the detachment On the 11th still at the mouth of Harpeth two men went out hunting today killed two tame deer belonging to an old Gentleman named Davidell they were forced to pay for the deer On the 12th The Genl & balance of the infantry came up On the 13th we that were provided with boats (none but two companies of the 2nd Regt were provided the others had to wait until the boats were built up the Harpeth could be brought down) started down the river

once more floated all day and encamped on the South side of the river On the 14th made an early start and about 10 Oclock landed at Clarksville staid all day receiving Pork & flour to do us to Natchez On the 15th made an early start had a

fine day made a good days sail encamped on the south side of the river On the 16th made another early start floated all day at sundown landed to get wood supplied ourselves for the night slipped cable and floated all night crossed the Tennessee line On the 17th about 8 oclock the morning there was a boat stove belonging to the quarter master nothing lost but the boat this was Sunday about two o clock our Chaplain Parson Blackman came on board our boat to preach the top gave way & let the whole of us down into the boat he finished preaching on board Capt Renshaws boat which was lashed to ours none of us was hurt stopped at Eddyville to get plank to repair our boat tis a small place on the North side of Cumberland floated all night a fine day On the 18th a fine morning floated until about 2 oclock P.M. came to Eddy water backed up from the Ohio 10 oclock P.M. land about one mile from the mouth of Cumberland on the North side of the river On the 19th started on but were stopped at the mouth of the river on account of the ice in the Ohio landed at Smithland a poor apology for a town paraded in the Snow & if ever Borias was in earnest it was now in the evening went down to the point to look at the Ohio the ice in full bloom the sun just setting it looked beautiful On the 20th moved up the river about a mile landed on the North side for convenience of getting wood had three men tried for desertion belonged to Capt Nashs Company from Rutherford named two Butler and Snowden Sentenced to draw half rations for five days have half month's (wages) docked wear the chain & ball for three days and drummed along the line for three days about Sundown were brought along the line at quick step On the 21st Still continued here had hard drilling all day about Sundown the deserters were brought along again when they were halted & accosted by the Genl as follows

> I am surprised to see here men and likely men who turned out Voluntarily in defence of their injured Country after having endured all the cold weather with cheerfulness and patience now tarnish their honor by deserting their posts

On the 22nd we still continued at our old encampment had another days drilling & a fine day in the evening the deserters were brought along the line once more and dismissed from any further punishment On the 23rd we started from the mouth of Cumberland in the ice about noon John Rogers a private in our Company died his

Complaint heart pleurisy he was speechless three days before his death here follows Capt Williamsons letter on the occasion to Genl Jackson & his answer

Dear Genl
It is with the utmost regret I announce to you the death of John Rogers a private in my Company he Struggled with death and departed this life at 57 minutes past twelve o'clock this day I am Sir with great consideration
Your most obt humble servt
Thos Williamson
Capt 2 Regt Ten
V Infty

On board the fair Mary
Jany 23 1813

Capt Thos Williamson Sir
I have this moment recd your note giving the melancholy information that John Rogers a private in your company is no more Being so near Massac he must be interred there of which due notice will be given a coffin of some kind must be provided and we must perform the last sad duties to the body of this unfortunate man in the most respectful manner our situation will allow It will be well to have himdressed and laid out in the neatest clothing he has if he has none clean have some washed as we proceed along and during the night we will endeavor if we reach Massac to have a coffin prepared I am with due respect your fr
Andrew Jackson Majr Genl

Headquarters
Board fair Phereby

About 2 o clock we passed the mouth of Tennessee twelve miles from the mouth of Cumberland The ice very bad in the Ohio had a cloudy dull day late in the evening we landed opposite Massac we could not land there for the ice On the 24th we stayed to bury Rogers at Massac had a rainy day and night On the 25th started once more and proceeded on down about 2 o clock there came up a very severe storm came near being cast away the boat rocked so that the patroon could hardly stand to steer landed on the west side of the river On the 26th proceeded on very early had a clear cold day Two of our men went ashore for a canoe that had got away from us & floated ashore they could not overtake us with the Canoes so they committed them to the river and tried it on foot in the Snow and ice all day they came near being lost with the cold we landed tonight on Cash Island about nine miles from the mouth of the Ohio & the men in about half an hour killed 8 deer On the 27th started once more before light passed the mouth of Cash(?) before daylight and landed at the mouth of the Ohio a man went hunting today he has not returned tonight On the 28th still continued at the mouth of the Ohio Lt Col Bradley took some men and

paraded on the beach Col Bradley found the man & returned On the 29th still continued at the mouth of the river parade on the beach the 2nd Regt not up yet the Mississippi rose ten feet in the last 24 hours & still continues to rise On the 30th we left the mouth of the river moved down the Mississippi about 12 o clock passed the Chalk Bank on the East side of the landin opposite the iron banks they are in Kentucky here we found the effects of the earthquake On the 31st more snow on top of the old saw some more signs of the earthquake landed on the east side of the river about three miles below New Madrid which is on the west side of the river a beautiful place but nearly deserted since the Shakes the Streets cut in trenches so that they are nearly impassable landed on the opposite side of the river from the town.

Feb^{y} 1sy started early passed about noon the Little prairie the ground is torn by Earthquake very much & the river now runs where the Town once stood Bayou Pamisco which made out here is now dry there were several islands above where we landed tonight on the east side of the river On the 2nd started early came on very well all day landed at night at the upper Chickasaw Bluffs had a fine day On the 3rd started early passed the middle Chickasaw Bluffs about noon then went through the devil's racetrack or path and landed on the East side of an island a fine day On the 4th started early & landed on the East side of the river above Fort Pickering a fine day On the 5th made another early start passed the mouth of Wolf just below it Fort Pickering it looks more like a nigro quarter than a place for defence resembling the fortresses of the Hon Timothy himself on the decline in character another fine day landed on the East side of the river above the grand cutoff On the 6th an early start passed the cutoff 2 miles in 10 minutes passed the mouth of the St.Francis & Fort Pike built by & called for Capt now Col Pike landed on the west side below the big Prairie a beautiful place another fine day On the 7th started early passed prairies on both sides had a fine day landed on the west side for the night On the 8th started early passed Grand Lake on the east side of the river passed the mouth of White river a fine day passed prairies landed opposite the mouth of Arkansas it formerly divided Upper

& Lower Louisiana On the 9th Started before day had a fine day landed on the west side opposite a big Island On the 10th started early had to haul to about 2 o clock P.M. on the East Side here the 2nd Regt under Col Benton overtook us On the 11th made and early start about 10 oclock came to 20 mile reach passed Stack Island then the crows nest had a cloudy dark day landed on the East side of the river On the 12th Started early but had to stop on acct of the wind landed on the west side On the 13th we staid all day the men washing up a very windy day On the 14th Started before day passed the mouth of the Yazoo river 8 miles above the walnut hills plenty of long mass had a cloudy day landed on the east side of the river here I had a spell of Cholic Serjeant Gooch recommended black pepper burnt me up nearly On the 15th Started early passed Grand Gulf before day passed the mouth of Bayou Pierre passed Petty Gulph and the plantation of the late Abijah Hunt who was killed in a duel by George Poindexter landed about 3 miles above Natchez on the East side had a fine day On the 16th about 12 oclock we moved down to the town put out our guard & had a patrol detailed Col Benton issued the following order after the 2nd Regt overtook us -

Regimental order

The rules and articles of war for the Government of the Armies of the United States are fraught with Salutory provisions and those which are intended to preserve the morals of Armies are not the least considerable among the practices herein forbidden and made punishable by those articles is the unchristian and ungentlemanly Vice of profane Swearing This vice though practiced by many without any evil intentions is yet practiced in contempt of all laws divine civil & Military and in Violation of the rules of decency and decorum that this vice which is degrading & so little beneficial to those who practice it should be suppressed particularly in the 2nd Regt Tennessee Volunteer Infantry is the earnest wish of the Commandant of that Regiment He therefore recommends & requests that all officers noncommissioned and privates of the 2nd Regt henceforth desist from the use of profane oaths & it is particularly expected that officers of every grade will aid and assist in carrying this wish into effect particularly by their example much has already been said in praise of the Tennessee Volunteers the Commandant of the 2nd Regt hopes that still more yet will be said to their honor and that their well earned reputation will not be stained by the fashionable vices of the users

Thos H Benton Col 2 Regt T.V.I.

The following is the Genl order issued previous to the disembarkation of the troops

Genl Orders Headquarters near Natchez
Feby 16th 1813

The General has to announce to the Infantry under his command that a disembarkation of the troops will take place at Natchez so soon as the Waggons can be procured for the transportation of the baggage to the cantonment as soon as disembarked we are to pass through a polished part of our citizens good order silence and polite language towards all the citizens as well as to each other are to be religiously observed by all the detachment under pain of immediate punishment for disobedience of this order The eyes of the American Nation are upon us we are the forlorn hope of the militia of the Union On us depends the restoration of the hard work and safe defences of a free people a well organized Militia It behoves every officer & soldier belonging to my detachment by his soldier like conduct by his urbanity & polite attention to the good citizens of the Country in order to show them that we are the protectors of their individual rights as well as against foreign enemies or domestic factions The Major Genl therefore hopes that every officer and Soldier he has the honor to command will behave himself in every respect as a gentleman and realize the wishes of their Genl & their country the Quarter Masters of the 1st & 2nd Regt will proceed immediately to Natchez & proceed without delay in conjunction with the deputy Quarter Masters agent to procure a sufficient number of waggons to transport our baggage to the cantonment the detachment will immediately proceed and land opposite Natchez where they will disembark

By order of the Major Genl
Andrew Hines aid de camp

On the 17th we disembarked passed through Natchez to Fort Dearbourn had a muddy wet day On the 18th we still were encamped near the old fort another cloudy day On the 19th still continued here four officers arrested by the patrol at a Brothel On the 20th still continued here at the old fort hard drilling rainy morning & cloudy day On the 21st still at the old place rained all night sleet in the morning the coldest weather they have seen here for some time On the 22nd the birthday of Washington a clear pretty morning nature seemed to smile on the scene we moved to Camp Jackson about two miles from the old Fort a beautiful place On the 23rd a fine day nothing to do but fix our encampment

Genl Orders Headquarters Camp Jackson
24th February 1813

To insure good order in the Camp the Genl orders that the following rules be observed for the policy of the Camp until otherwise ordered

1st The Adjutants are to attend at the Brigade inspection Quarters at 10 oclock in the morning to receive orders & make their morning reports

2nd The Orderly Serjeants are to attend at the adjutants Quarters at eight oclock to make their reports & half-past ten to receive their orders

3rd The Reveille is to be at every morning at daybreak when every officer & soldier is to rise parade & stand to his arms until the roll is called

4th The retreat is to be beat at Sundown when the roll is to be called and absentees reported whether officers or soldiers

5th The Tattoo is to be beat at 8'oclock P.M. The Serjeant & Corporals to visit their respective squads & report the state thereof

6th Every Saturday each Capt will inspect his Company see that all public property committed to his care can be accounted for if a Soldier loses any part of his equipment he will immediately charge him therewith reporting the same to his commanding officers

7th All guards will parade at 10 oclock in the morning and relieve every 24 hours the officers & citizens to pass the lines through the day without molestation as well as all waggons engaged in the public service

8th The officers of the day will go the rounds at least twice each night

9th The rules & articles of war forbid any officer or private from leaving his post while on guard if a commissioned officer upon pain of being cashiered if a noncommissioned officer or private of suffering agreable to the sentence of a court martial

By order of the Genl
Andrew Hines aid de camp

On the 24th nothing of consequence occurred we had a fine clear day & a little drilling by companies On the 25th the 2nd Regt had a parade a fine day On the 26th paraded this morning at Reveille the officers were called to the Genls quarters to drill after drilling one hour it was moved by Majr Carroll that the officers should parade there every morning after calling the roll at Reveille with his musket to drill one hour agreed to unanimously

Regimental Orders

At nine oclock in the morning at a Signal given from the Cols Tent the whole of the companies will turn out to their own music & form dressing with the Stakes as nearly as may be before their tents an interval of at least 16 Feet between them each Capt will exercise his men without paying any regard to what another is doing & continue so for an hour at least always dressing by the Stakes which are to serve as Guides the same exercise will be repeated at three oclock

> in the evening and this will be the daily exercise while the troops remain at their present encampment the Signal will be the displaying the Regimental colors from the Colonels tent
>
> By order of the Col
>
> Feby 26th 1813 Guy Smith adjt 2 Regt T.V. Infty.

we had a clear day On the 27 & 28 nothing of importance occurred we received our blank inspection rolls and orders to prepare for inspection fine days March 1st we paraded agrement at the Genls quarters where we got orders from the Genl to have our Companies clean shaved & dressed & ready for parade by nine oclock on the morrow with their heads powdered a fine day On the 2nd nothing of importance transpired we were ready for inspection but the U.S. inspector did not come so we performed some evolutions that surprised the Spectators a fine day On the 3rd we were inspected by Capt. Holmes the U.S. Inspector a fine day after inspection we were formed into close column Majr Carroll read the Sentence of the Court Martial on Capt Hewett who was tried for intemperance & Cashiered then his first Lieut Gambrill he was brought forward under guard he was to be kept from his command for six days & reprimanded by his Col his crime was going to a brothel Col Benton addressed him as follows

> I am sorry to have to address an officer belonging to my regiment on such an occasion as this for an officer to go contrary to orders and besides as you have done to go to such a place as under the Hill as it is called the place where Hell reigns on earth where the refuse of creation assembles this sir is a thing that pains me to think about & which I never want to talk in public on again

On the 4th & 5th nothing of importance turned up we had our two parades & fine days On the 6th & 7 still times no camp news afloat fine clear weather On the 8th a sermon from Parson Blackman after the Sermon he addressed us on the Subject of a Bible Society being established in west Tennessee but soldiers here not the people to give much encouragement to such an institution On the 9th nothing out of the common course of things turned up we had our parades and fine weather On the 10th & 11th Good weather as usual & still times

Genl Orders

> Method of receiving the grand rounds the officer of the day will visit the several guards during the day as often and at such hours as he judges proper when the sentinel before the

guard firs_ discovers the officer of the day he will call the guard to turn out and the guard being paraded on the approach of the officer of the day presents arms by the command of their officer the officer of the day may then have the roll called and make such examination as he thinks proper not only the officer of the day but the Genl is also at liberty to visit the guards and make the same examination during the night the officer of the day will go the rounds when the officer of the day arrives at the guard from whence he intends to begin the rounds he will make himself known by giving the countersign to the officer of the guard he will then order the guard under arms and examine it as he may think proper he will then demand an escort of a Serjeant & 2 men - & proceed to the next post where the rounds are challenged by a sentinel the Serjeant answering Grand rounds the sentinel will reply Stand grand rounds advance Serjt with the countersign upon which the Serjeant will advance & give the Countersign the centinel will reply advance grand rounds allow them to pass presenting his arms but not suffer anyone to approach in reach of them when the sentinel before the guard challenges the rounds & is answered grand rounds he will reply Stand grand Rounds turn out the guard guard upon the Sentinels calling the guard is to be turned out and drawn up in good order with Shouldered arms the officers taking their posts the officer commanding the guard will order a Serjeant and two men to advance towards the rounds and challenge when the Serjeant of the guard comes within 10 paces of the rounds he will halt & challenge briskly the Serjeant of the rounds will answer grand rounds the Serjeant of the guard rounds advance Serjt with the Countersign & order his men to present arms the Serjeant of the rounds will advance alone and giving the countersign returns to his rounds & the Serjeant of the guard calls to his officer the countersign is right on which the officer of the guard call advance grand rounds then advances alone and on his approach the guard presents their arms he will pass along the front of the guard to the officer who keeps his post on the right he will then examine the guard order back his escort & demand a new one & proceed in the same manner to the other guards The foregoing regulations will be copied into the orderly book of each Capt belonging to the detachment & read at his morning and evening parades for two weeks

By order of the Majr Genl
Andrew Hines aid

Head Quarters
Camp Jackson
March 11th 1813

On the 12th & 13 nothing of consequence occurred except a very hard rain which made our tents leak very much On the 14th the Genl Recd orders to disband his army & return home he refused to do it until his return to Nashville he set the 18th day to start on his return march a hard rainy day On the 15th we buried a man belonging to Capt Renshaws Co 2 Regt the 4th man that has died in the detachment since we left home had a wet day On the 16th about 10 oclock we were paraded & heard the following Genl Order

Fellow Soldiers

Long since the clouds of war hovered around our beloved Country its constituted authorities announced it in danger and invited you to rally round the government of your choice for its support & defence It was enough for such patriots as you descended from the heroes of the revolution to know that the patrimony procured by the best blood of your fathers was endangered you the support of your Country Voluntarily enlisted your selves in its defence & tendered your services to the President which were with expressions of gratitude accepted of Your tender was on the broad basis of your countrys will not confined within Constitutional limits By the orders of Government war was declared you Stood panting for the call of your government with your eyes turned to the North the seat of war ready to mingle your strength with that of your distressed brethren in arms Your Representative in Congress made known your patriotism to the government addressed you as part of his constituents with the eloquence of a Cicero (this your patriotism did not require) urged you en masse to enroll yourselves under the act of Congress in support of a just necessary & proper war he pledged himself for your patriotism enrolled you have been & only wanted the call of your government an army was hastily surrendered a territory lost men were wanting Still you were not called to the field at length it was said that the inhospitable clime of the lower Mississippi was endangered by threatened invasion the Government called you heard there was no clime could damp your ardor the 10th December 1812 with pleasure will be recollected by every patriotic bosom you with the Spirits of fre_ man whose rights were invaded bore without a murmur the Snowy blasts you entered the camp with the order of good citizens you bore its privations like good soldiers the alacrity with which you entered on the duties of Soldiers foretold to your Genl that you would soon be prepared for the field his highest wishes were realized the wishes of your Genl and your Country your uniform good conduct your attention to the right of the Citizens through which you have passed has secured to you the plaudits of the citizens of the Country & entitled you to the thanks and esteem of your Genl he knows if you had met an enemy from your pride your patriotism & attention to discipline you would have gained Laurels for yourselves & honor to the Country from which you came you are now about to return to your country & it remains for to unfold whether you have been treated by the agents of government with that attention your patriotism entitles you to expect and whether you have not been shamefully forgotten by your representative in Congress Fellow Citizens in our march we have to pass through a Savage country their rights must be respected and notwithstanding your humanity is shocked at the unheard of cruelty & murder of our brethren still it becomes us until we are ordered and Commanded by Government to withhold our hands from vengeance least we might strike the innocent with the guilty and bring disgrace & guilt upon our heads it is therefore ordered & commanded that neither the persons or property be disturbed by any officer or Soldier under my command while returning through that Country it is necessary for the safety of the detachment that we march in good order & that the whole detachment remain together until we arrive at Nashville the order of march

will be daily communicated through the brigade Inspector all officers are forbidden to give any furlough or permits to the Soldiers to leave the encampment for a longer time than four hours & they must be accompanied by a Commissioned or noncommissioned officer who will be responsible for their return so soon as the necessary supplies are received from the Contractors & Quartermasters department the line of march will be taken up the Major Genl having pledged himself that he never would abandon one of his men & that he would act the part of a father to them has to repeat that he will not leave one of the Sick nor of the detachment behind he has led you here he will lead you back to your country & friends the sick as far as he has the power & the means shall be made comfortable if any one dies he will pay to them the last tribute of respect they shall be buried with all the honors of war Should your General die he knows it is a respect you will pay to him it is a debt due to every honest & brave soldier of the detachment The officer of the day will permit the guard to sleep at their fires during the night Keeping up one watch

Andrew Jackson
Majr Genl

Headquarters
Camp Jackson
16th March 1813

After the orders were read we were dismissed until in the evening when we had a Regimental parade but were driven in by the rain On the 17th Last night we had a hard rain insomuch that we could not sleep on account of the wet we had to wrap ourselves up in our blankets & Set up all night with our feet covered with water In the morning it was clear but about ten oclock it began to rain we had a wet day On the 18 Cloudy morning cleared off about 10 oclock A.M. fine day On the 19th last night about 12 Oclock Col Benton had been out patrolling & on his return when he came to the guard he fired off his gun the alarm was beat & in less than ten minutes both Regts were under arms the Genl did not like Col Bentons conduct and gave him a very sharp talk concerning it Majr Carroll mounted his horse without a saddle bare headed & rode out to see who had caused this flurry some of the men thought there was some cause for the alarm but as soon as rightly awake recollected where we were

today we had a regimental parade it was a very warm evening in the morning we put on our knapsacks & marched to try how they would do On the 20th marched once more with our knapsacks it is uncertain when we will start some think we will start Sunday which is tomorrow in deed the Genl says so but I dont think we will as we cant get waggons On the 21st This is the morning we allowed to start but have again failed dont know when we will get off a clear day On the 22nd nothing

particular happened another fine day On the 23rd Another balk about starting several waggons coming in looks a good like we will get off soon a good many Spectators to see us muster several Ladies among them all were astonished to see our performance as we beat any regular troops they have had among them On the 24th Called up & formed a solid column & heard a Genl order read we take up our march for home in the morning On the 25th about noon we started for home some dissatisfied at our having to go home without doing something for our Country besides eating her rations others glad to hear the news to return home came on & encamped at Sulsertown six miles from Washington Several of our men unwell one I dont think will recover a cloudy day On the 26th Started early passed Union Town six miles from Sulser Town camped near Greenville Six miles from Union Town today the waggon that carried our baggage broke down they had to get a new axle tree after we had encamped our waggon came up one of our men is so bad that they talk of leaving him in Greenville until he recovers if he has the good fortune to recover Serjt Gooch is to stay to nurse him several men giving out today it is so hot On the 27th started early left our sick man Hugh the Genl gave Gooch money to buy any little necessary he might want and ordered the man where he was left to supply him with any thing he might need & also supply him with money to take him and he would be accountable for it

we encamped twenty miles from Greenville a fine day On the 28th an early start about 8 oclock this morning we had a heavy rain for an hour very hard the mud up to our knees as we marched along some falling down the others laughing at them which would have caused any one to laugh heartily to look at us in the mud on the banks of a creek encamped at Bayou Pierre waded the Stream our Col at our head water waist deep On the 29th started early came on & encamped at the Choctaw line had a fine day & our road passed over high pine ridges On the 30th Started and came on and encamped on Lensioners Creek fine road & fine day some of our oxen gave out today on account of the heat in the barrens On the 31st Started early about noon passed Bakers Creek which took its name from a robbery on its bank Baker was on his way from Natchez where he had gone with produce for sale & was on his way home with the proceeds of his trip stopped his horse on the bank went down to the

water to get a drink when Mason the great robber rushed (out) of the thicket with his comrades & led off his horse with $2500 on his back & would not let poor Baker have enough to bear his expenses home to Tennessee but took his horse & money & left him to shift for himself fine day On the 1st April Started early came on and encamped at the Choctaw agency dismissed more teams today had a fine day the indians are encamped here to receive their annuities were going to have a big ball play our passing stopped them but there are a great many indians here we are one hundred & twenty miles from Natchez we have been eight days coming it On the 2nd Marched hard all day & encamped at Wards this place looks more like living than any place I have seen since we left the Grindstone ford on the big Bayou Pierre a fine day On the 3rd my birthday just 20 years old today started early came on three miles past McRamey we saw a great many indians going to the ball play they play for six thousand dollars passed Several Indian graves they have several poles four short ones & two long ones have steps made for the Indians to climb up to Heaven two were sitting by the grave crying & paid no attention to us no more than if we had not been there there were several more setting about that appeared no more concerned than if nothing was the matter a fine day On the 4th today we came (to where) the water runs east today yesterday it ran west the waters of the Mississippi today the waters of Pearl a fine day just beginning to come to the Swamps On the 5th started early came on some miles past Shoals got beeves from Shoat for today's rations On the 6th this morning came on to Lafleurs an old Frenchman with an Indian wife got some beeves from him came on and camped three miles from Lafleurs twenty miles from Pigeon roost a fine day On the 7th made an early start & about 10 oclock came to one of the Byr Wyr swamps there was one waggon mired down so we had to strip off & drag her out about 4 miles further came to the other Bye Wy got over without difficulty a fine day camped in 7 miles of the Pigeon roost On the 8th started & passed Pigeon Roost swamp the half way ground between Natchez & Nashville came on one mile across the line which is thirteen miles from the Pigeon roost to where we are encamped another fine day & fine road vegetation more backward here now than it was at Camp Jackson fifteen days ago On the

9th started early made a bad days travel on account of the swamps & creeks we had to cross & bridges we had to make a fine day encamped fourteen miles from the Chickasaw agency On the 10th made an early (start) came to the agents before we stopped for breakfast passed some old fields after breakfast we started and passed Jas. Colberts eight miles from the Agency had a heavy rain came one mile past Colberts made 23 miles today On the 11th started early & about 3 oclock came to the Chickasaw Old Town this has been a great Town in early times there has been about 1000 houses here there is once 5000 acres that have been cultivated by this people a great battle was fought here between the Chickasaws & Creeks we passed near the battle ground there is one family that lives here yet we came on & encamped having made 23 miles today On the 12th made an early start came on and took a swamp the first thing & hardly had any thing else all day about 10 oclock came to a swamp that took an hour to go 1/4 of a mile & was nearly waist deep all the way crossed twenty mile creek & encamped in three miles of Browns swamp having made 20 miles today fine day On the 13th made an early start came to Brown swamp took two hours to get through came about 18 miles & camped last night had a heavy rain but a fine day today On the 14th we started came on to good spring 8 miles & to bear creek 10 miles further by 11 oclock crossed by 3 oclock started on passed the Buzzard roost which is 5 miles further came on by Levi Colberts & camped about 2 miles from Colberts making in all 25 miles today last night there fell a heavy shower of Hail & rain that ever fell upon poor Soldiers in the world a clear cool day On the 15th we made an early start came on & got to the Tennessee river five miles from last nights encampment crossed the Tennessee River 2nd Regt came over first and came on about one mile & stopped until the 1 Regt could get over while we were stopped one of our men was bit by a Rattlesnake though it dont look like it would hurt him much we started and came five miles from the river making ten miles today On the 16th started early & stopped at 12 oclock for breakfast Major Carroll went on to Columbia to fix the pay rolls by the time the detachment would get there where the 2 Regt is to be discharged came 23 miles a fine day On the 17th made a bad start came on got breakfast at Young factors had a fine day made about 18

miles today On the 18th started early came to little Buffaloe crossed Big Buffaloe came on got breakfast at Grinders saw Governor Lewis' Grave the Indian line is about ten steps of Grinders door came 23 miles today & camped near old man Rhodes's there we saw the first white woman we had seen for some time they looked nice after being so long among the savages On the 19th came on & camped near Columbia & on the 20th were mustered out of service by Major Carrol received our discharge & started for home & paid for all our troubles by meeting our friends once more this was my first trip from home

* * *

Marshall Co Mississippi 3rd Nov. 1858 at the request of my children who I hope if the necessity Should ever call it forth will be as willing as I was to step forth at the Call of our country to its defence & suffer and endure all that is necessary for its safety & my daughters may they always have the same warm love for it that warmed the bosom of my dear old mother who was one to endure any privation for her country that she was called on to do and she was frequently placed in very critical positions but thank the good one she was always equal to any demand made on her patience and patriotism well do I remember her lectures to me her youngest when I first left home for the tented field my father who was a cripple in the arm from the effects of a wound from an Indian before I was born was equally willing and ever encouraged me to volunteer in the Service of my Country and after our return from our first Campaign was equally anxious for me again to mount my knapsack for another tour but in fact theirs was not an uncommon feeling for in all our country if one individual had any other feeling about the war and our duty they said but little about it as they felt they would be sadly in the minority and out of sixty fine young men that were under 21 years of age at the time we started on our Campaign to Natchez & belonging to the same militia company with myself but three were left at home & then was the time our young ladies shewed the true feelings of backwoods American women

not one of them would permit these young men to wait on them at church prefering to get their own horses as all that did not walk went to Church on horseback & in fact as long as we all remained in the same neighborhood they were treated with indifference

by the girls and if any one of them except one ever married except one I have not known it but to the commencement of my journal of my last two campaigns I will give a detailed & particular account which I will vouch for being correct except as to dates for all are as firmly fixed in my mind as the transactions of yesterday

After the massacre at Fort Mims our country was in a fever of excitement until our army was put in motion as Genl Jackson was very anxious to have an army early in the field that were well disciplined he called on the old Volunteers to assemble at Fayetteville on the 4th October (1813) to march into the Creek Nation & although we all felt that we had been discharged from our first engagement all were again anxious to go against the indians as for myself I wished to go on horseback & with Capt McCutcheon proposed to raise a company of mounted men & as I was acquainted with the old Genl was sent by the Capt to see if he would receive us if we organized & went to head quarters in my interview with him he prevailed on me to withdraw from the horse company and continue with the old Company & as several of the boys had joined the new Company with me as he said it was so important for us all to go together as we were already in a situation for active service and that our time would expire on the 10th Dec^{r} twelve months after we had been mustered into service & that he was corresponding with Mr. Armstrong the Secretary of War and hoped to be able to get pay for the time we had been at home with this assurance I went home & prevailed on the boys to quit the horse Company & go in the old Company as there was a good deal of dissatisfaction not as to going but going under the old engagement it was a very difficult undertaking to get all to agree & after our Company had taken up the line of March every officer pledged him self to march with them home the 10th Dec^{r} & with this pledge all were Satisfied I make this Statement to satisfy my children in relation to my subsequent conduct when that time arrived but I will say further I have no doubt but that the Genl fully intended to perform what he then said but from his situation he could not comply owing to no fault of his own but from the misconduct of others that he could not control he was forced to act differently (the following passage is written and struck through) & to take the ground that our time was not out at the time he had told me & some of his officers & himself were placed in antagonism

that they carried to their graves if I had one of the old discharges it would satisfy my Children that I am correct but to commence

as soon as the army were organised & we could get transportation we started for the Nation all the Country South of the Tennessee line was in a constant fever of excitement expresses daily coming to Headquarters Indians Indians were just going to break into the Settlement & murder them all Huntsville had been burned two or three times before we left Fayetteville we started from there about 10 Oclock A.M. on a clear day and marched by about 4 Oclock P.M. to where the road from Fayetteville to Huntsville crosses Flint river and were preparing to camp for the night when an express galloped into camp with a letter from Huntsville stating if we did not get there that night Huntsville would be in ashes the old Genl made the news known to the army and asked them could they go on all said go we started again and got to Huntsville about 10 oclock at night and every soul that was in Huntsville I expect was sound asleep but the dogs welcomed us for there was a plenty noise made by them to almost wake the dead but if there was an indian in fifty miles of Huntsville it was a friendly one we must have met fifty families that day some never stopped as I was told until they got to the old settled part of Tennessee on the next morning my feet were so swelled that I could not get in my shoes my heels & toes so blistered & sore that I could hardly bear to put them to the ground in fact I was as completely foundered as ever I saw a horse but had to hobble along the best way I could as I said before it was dry & dusty our company march in front but in looking back on the line the dust rose higher than the tops of the trees & from the dust & sweat I met some of my comrades & they were so covered that I did not know them until they spoke we crossed Tennessee river at ditto Landing and went up the river a mile or two & camped at what we called Coffees bluff where we remained several days waiting for Genl Coffee who had crossed his Brigade at the Muscle Shoals & gone to some town at the head of the black warrior when we first camped at the Bluff we had pretty weather but before we left there it rained & turned cold we had no tents and were badly put to it when the rain came on Col Sitler who was on the Genl staff & acting as adjutant Genl came to our camp in the rain & took me (to) one side told

me to select three men from the Regt men that I was willing to risk my life with & when I had selected them to report myself at headquarters I selected them out of our Company I took two Edmund Owen a school mate & W Mattheny and a man belonging to Capt Moores Company named Jones & reported to Littler he took me to the line of sentinels & pretty nearly scared me to death he came so near convincing me that I was being placed in a perilous position he then gave me the Countersign & watchword & started me my orders were to take the path he put me on & keep it until I came to a fork & then to sit down & if not disturbed to remain there until day light if attacked I was to defend myself until overpowered then make for camp giving the alarm while I felt proud of the distinction so placed I would have felt much better at the fire of the Company we were placed on ground to which we were perfect strangers & from the noise about indians made by the people of Madison County we looked for an Indian behind every bush it was dark when we left the lines & we all thought we had traveled three miles but not more than one before we came to a plain fork & there we sat down & staid until daylight without speaking only in a whisper I had no disposition to sleep but let the men sleep as much as they wished this I think though in October (was) the longest night I ever passed it cleared off in the night and a keen north wind made our wet clothes fit tolerable close but nothing but the cold interrupted us we returned to camp at daylight & reported to Headquarters no interruption to our watch & were dismissed after Genl Coffee joined us we took up our line of march for the enemies country on the 2nd day reached fort Deposite on the Tennessee river where we staid several days waiting for provisions and some of our men who had not been quite ready to start when we left home & as we expected to need them when we get into the Creek Country we waited for them to come up which they accordingly done here the Genl began to feel that the contractors would disappoint him about provisions & tried to have some other arrangements made for our subsistence how far he succeeded I never knew but this much I do know that after we left Deposit we never had a regular ration for two days together until the 10th Dec^{r} at which time we expected to start home after leaving deposite nothing worth mentioning happened until we crossed Ratliffs mountain at Wills Creek in Wills Valley one of our men on

his post as Sentinel killed an Indian who was trying to see our camp he was laughed at a good deal some said he had shot a coon as a good many times we had false alarms but in the morning he took them to the place they found blood & directly found where a body had been dragged some hundred & fifty yards and covered up beside a log so that time it was found to be all right no doubt the indians reconnoiter our Camp nearly every night watching our movements the next night after Baldridge killed the Indian we had a regular alarm some seven guns fired by the sentinels on one line our orders were to fall into the rear of our fires twenty paces & form our line and remain there until regularly dismissed while in that situation one of our men stepped off and discovered one of our parsons standing in close to the other side of a tree as he (could) get and apparently paralized & it was a difficult matter to get him to speak the morning we left here Genl Coffee was sent to a hostile town with his horsemen & a few infantry among whom was Capt Williamson my Capt we marched on & camped at what we called the dry camp & there waited for Genl Coffee to join us before we went any farther while waiting for Coffee they tried a man for desertion he was found guilty & sentenced to be shot the army were drawn out to see this done his funeral was preached twelve men detailed to shoot him six ordered to the front the word given make ready take aim when one of the Genls staff handed the adjutant Genl a paper the men ordered to return to a Shoulder the adjutant looked at the paper & read it & behold it was a reprieve the first word the man said after hearing it was God bless my Genl & more than this he had been before this a disrespected quarrelsome man but this completely reformed him he made a good & worthy member of society & lived & made a fine estate but as our Genl has been censured for having men shot under his command in the Genl order reprieving this man he stated it was the last time he would interfere to stop the judgement of a Court Martial and far as he was concerned their verdict should be final the next two were Harris & Woods they both suffered the penalty of the law that same evening that the prisoner was liberated Genl Coffee returned with the Celebrated Bob Catawba & a number of other prisoners who were sent to Nashville under a proper Guard and the Army moved on into the enemies Country all looking every day for a fight Genl

Coffee & his mounted men were kept moving and on the 3rd Nov^{r} a cold frosty morning the Genl detailed 500 of Halls Brigade to march to the ten Islands to reinforce Genl Coffee who had been sent to the Talleyhatchie town some 15 miles from the ten Islands to destroy it so we could be ready if he needed a reinforcement to assist him we lay on the bank of the river till we were nearly froze our old Col Martin who commanded the detachment was an old Indian fighter determined to cross the river & go on towards the point where we expected to find Coffee as we were footmen we had to wade the river I thought it was a quarter of a mile wide cold swift & shoaly we got over & soon made ourselves warm by walking after going a short distance we met an express from Genl Coffee asking us to hurry on to meet him as he had had a pretty sharp brush had some prisoners & a good many wounded we went on but failed to meet him as he took a different rout from the one he went out so we missed him & just after dark got to the battle ground where we encamped all night but none of us slept for our old Col was not the man to be caught napping & was a strict disciplinary

The main army moved to what was afterward Fort Strother where Genl Coffee joined them the night after the battle & we lay on the battle ground there we found several Indian Children whose mothers were killed one little fellow was tugging at his Mothers breast & her Stiff & cold these things could not be helped as the warriors had their families with them consequently the women & children were liable to be killed two of these children we carried to Headquarters one of them Genl Jackson raised & he died about the time he was grown & the other was raised by Doc^{t} Shelby I saw him in 1832 in the Creek Nation after the treaty he went home for the sake of his land & was a poor drunken creature although he had a pretty good education on our march to headquarters we burned several houses & got our knapsacks full of corn but after wading Coosa a guard on the opposite bank made us empty our knapsacks to divide with our comrades who had not had an opportunity of getting any

as to rations they were not there we were like the fellows horse learning pretty well to do without them out of 25 fine ears I brought to camp I got 1½ we remained at Fort Strother until Sunday evening the 7th when an old man that had been raised in the Nation named Quarles & a friendly Chief named Chinmibby came from

a friendly Fort of Creeks at Talladega telling the Genl that the friendly Indians were beseiged by a large force of the hostiles & had obtained from them the promise that they would not interrupt them if at the end of three days if they were not relieved by Genl Jackson they would surrender under this agreement these two men somehow mánaged to leave the fort though surrounded by the hostiles and gave our Genl the information we made all our arrangements and were off for Talladega about 11 P.M.

we had drawn a little poor beef some of the men having killed an indian cow some where in the neighborhood of the Fort we left a few men at the Fort to take care of what stores were left the most of the Infantry waded the river though some of us rode behind the horsemen I recollect I had a little piece of meat about two ounces which when we stopped about 10 Oclock for those who had it to eat a little I took out my meat took a small mouthful of it & as I had also a little piece of bread took a little of it too then looked at it & put it back in my knapsack for some other time

some of the boys had nothing consequently just looked on we camped that night on a creek near Jim Fifes a friendly indian and got an ear of corn each for our ration & those that were not detailed for duty tried to sleep & that I believe is all the time which I was in service that I shirked from my duty I knew it was pretty near my time for guard and when the adjutant who I was well acquainted with started out to hunt his officer for the guard approached me I began to roll & tumble as if I had the cholic he passed on we had marched hard all day & had not slept the night before & was tired & finissed that one time to get a little rest & I felt so mean about it that I apologized to the adjutant after the battle was over & told him to pay me by putting me on extra duty worse than all he had no notion of putting me on guard & I had confessed the only shabby trick of that kind I done while in the Service

one more evidence a guilty conscience need no accuser we were again on the march at two oclock and a little after sun rise were in sight of the enemy when we formed the line of battle and were ordered to throw off our knapsacks I took out my little piece of meat & bread & said to the boys none of you shall have my meat if I am killed & eat it up after the battle was ended I was more hungry than I ever was in my life never will I forget my feelings when I raised my gun to fire the

first time I ever leveled it at a human being I had heard my father say his first effort he could not get his gun to his shoulder for trembling I drew mine up & I thought took pretty fair aim turned to one of the boys & said I am a heap better soldier than father but this was a mistake for there were few better than him I laughed & told him about it when I got home it pleased him very much after the Indians got out of our square & broke for the hills while we were pursuing them Col Pillow who commanded our regt Col Benton having gone into the Regular Army tried to honor my gun saying he wanted to shoot an indian just over the rise I told him I could not spare it just at that time but he found someone more liberal than me who gave up his but instead of the Col shooting the indian he severly wounded him & nothing but his starved situation saved his life as he was shot in the abdomen just below the navle there were 18 of us killed & some three hundred indians were followed about 3 miles when the drum called us back I expect when we started back to where the battle commenced as the indians had run in every direction the extremes were five miles apart after going to where we formed our line of battle near the friendly fort and encamped near it but had nothing to eat I gave an old squaw a fine new silk handkerchief for a gallon of corn this we boiled & had a fine mess of soup without any grease or salt we buried our dead all in one grave the next morning one of the Catawba's was up in a tree looking to see what we were doing was discovered by one of the soldiers made come down & given up to the friendly Chiefs taken outside of the lines & two of the Chiefs shot him after making him kneel down & ran for his hair it was young Chinnubby a Creek & Jim Brown a Cherokee Brown struck him first & got his hair which I saw him carrying as a trophy singing his song of Victory next morning we started back to strother on account of want of provisions were compelled to this course which we all regretted though we fully expected to find provisions when we got back to the fort but were sadly disappointed some waggons had got there but in place of having bacon & flour were loaded with whiskey and coffee the whiskey we did not get but what little coffee there was was divided among us starving men have but little feeling for others all came pretty near faring alike but our Genl though faring as the others had to bear the blame of our

starving & although I never saw any necessity for eating raw hides particularly when we could get beech nuts & acorns though I have no doubt some of them done it still I thought it was only to have a chance to talk about afterwards the Genl promised us if the provisions did not come by a certain day we should start to meet them and as they did not come to the day of we started leaving a few men to guard the fort & just as we crossed Coosa Mountain met a waggon load of flour one barrel had rolled out behind and bursted just as I passed I think I eat a quart of dry flour before the commissary could stop me I then drew ten quarts of flour & my two mess mates got a quart each & we three eat it all up by the next night then we got some beef but had no bread to eat with it we met the beeves at Canoe Creek & halted to go back to the fort here was the place that our Genl headed the men that were not willing to go back and drove them back they had started for home instead of for provisions but were turned back by the Genl a good many of them however deserted that night they had lost all self respect they had been so starved the rest of us returned to the fort where we staid sometimes getting something to eat but oftener nothing without anything of importance happening until the 9th night of December except the men putting aside a portion of their irregular allowance for to carry them home on the 10th as they had no doubt of getting their discharge on that day not a whisper of any other course being pursued towards them entered their minds I had been up at the quarters of old Col Martin who commanded our regiment after the battle of Talladega as Col Pillow had gone home on acct of his wound telling him what the men expected on the 11th & what the Company officers had promised them when we started from home & what I felt it my duty to do under the circumstances he told me to go back to the Company & keep still he professed a great friendship for me & although no one had any right to say all would not go off right still it seemed as if a dark cloud hung over us & no one could give a reason for the feeling I had to go back past head quarters to get home as I passed the Artillery they were parading I asked Lieut Allen what it meant he said they were ordered to parade & march to the bridge above the fort on the road home if we started to stop us I asked him what he would do if we did come he said he would shoot us as quick as he would a red stick by which

he meant the hostile indians I told him we did not intend to go until we could go right but if so happened that we did & he attempted what he said his hide would not hold black Jack brush if he only raised his match to fire his gun he never would fire it we have laughed it over frequently at old Pontotoc I left them and started to the lines & met a Serj^{t} & file of men with our orderly I asked what it meant our orderly said old Hickory had got him when I got to the line the reg^{t} had been ordered to Parade & our Company had taken up the notion they were to be deprived of their arms these they had determined to never surrender I tried & did persuade them not to load their guns our regiments were formed into line Capt Caperton on the right & here the old Genl proved (the following passage was written and then struck through) that he was not to be caught napping himself wide awake to all our camp talk walked with his Staff to the head of the Regt asked whose company is this answered Capertons then he told them the character they had abroad and at home told the troubles & difficulties he had had to contend with & how anxious he was to maintain the ground he occupied and how impossible it would be unless we would stay with him until he could get reinforcements then made this proposition for those that were willing to stay with him to come to a shoulder & those that were determined on going home to remain at an order thirteen remained at an order take them fellows under guard says the Genl promptly stop Genl they say give that order again we did not understand you the order was repeated all came to a shoulder & were sent to their tents in this way he took them by companies until he got through when he came to ours he asked whose company I told him Williamsons boys he says you are from Davidson you wont leave me alone go to your tents although none of our boys would have thoughts of going off without going right as they said still they professed to be sorry that they did not have a chance of letting him know they felt that it was their privilege to go if they wished by the prompt action of the Genl I have no doubt a serious mutiny was prevented for if he had waited until the 11th and all had got excited in asking for their discharge there is no knowing where the thing would have stopped if their request had not been promptly agreed to half starved & naked men when they get excited have little reason or

reflection if crossed in their purpose for all wanted to go home but after promising to stay staid as far as I knew cheerfully until the reinforcements from East Tennessee joined which they did in three or four days & the Genl sent us home for the Government and us to decide about our time being out & we never heard any thing more about it only from those that had been at home who found great fault with us for leaving the army our orderly who had been put under guard before the compromise was called up by the Genl when he returned to headquarters and asked if he was willing to stay with the rest he said he never would leave him until he said the word he gave him a dram & sent him to his company we remained at home & in the summer drew our pay for the campaign

* * *

after getting home & resting & getting plenty eats we were nearly all of us ready for another Campaign when the opportunity offered & we had another chance as in the fall of 1814 Volunteers were called for to go to Florida & N.O. the indians in Florida were very troublesome being encouraged in their depredations by British officials who it appeared were urging these poor Creatures & having the complete control of the ports in Florida done our frontier great damages on the 28th of September 1814 a Brigade of mounted men rendezvoused at old Camp Blount near Fayetteville in Lincoln County Tennessee under the command of Brigadier Genl Coffee the two regiments commanded by Col R H Dyer & my old Capt Thomas Williamson Dyer commanded the first regiment the one I belonged to & Williamson the 2nd in the two Regiments there was about 2500 men Genl Jackson had been appointed a Major Genl in the Regular army was directed to accept the Services of two Regiments of Mounted Gunmen to serve twelve months unless sooner discharged under this requisition we were once more ready for the field & myself with 17 of my school mates attached ourselves to a company that Capt. T. Jones & J.A. Walker were attempting to raise with the promise that I should have the 2nd Lieutency but after the Company was organized & the election came on they deserted me who had enabled them to complete their company & elected J.W. Ecum who as a substitute had joined a day or two before the election although he was an excellent officer and a man I liked still I felt I had been badly treated

my father was so dissatisfied with my treatment he wanted to hire a substitute but I pointed to the young men who had enrolled with me & told him I could not leave them this satisfied him that I was right I for their benefit accepted the office of orderly tendered me by the Capt but during the whole campaign endeavored to thwart him in any of his efforts at reconciliation though a brave man he had very little knowledge of his duty consequently was often wrong in his commands and laying himself liable to be disobeyed & I never let an opportunity slip of letting him feel it

as I said before we rendezvoused at old Camp Blount on the 28th Sept. and after organizing took up our line of march for the Sunny South Cheerfully regardless of the where or who we had to meet if old Hickory headed us and about as pretty a sight as I ever seen was the army crossing the Tennessee river at the Muscle Shoals our Company was near the front and as the front touch the South bank the rear came in on the North bank it was said the river was three miles wide there it was a clear pretty day & it looked a pretty sight to see the string clear across the stream although it was shoaly & some places tolerable deep we got over without any accident except some of the men losing their saddle bags with their clothes one of our men named East lost his and never put on a clean shirt until after the battle at N.O. his clothes were so slick that when the rest of us were covered with body lice they would not stay on him after crossing the river we took Gaines's trace & crossed the Tom Bigbee at Cotton Gin port forded it it was deep & boggy while the front were crossing I cut my name on a Gum on the North Bank and one of my friends told me he saw it after Monroe County was settled & organized we marched on past old Col Peter Syms & Deshongs both white men with Indian families getting corn for our horses & Meat Beef for ourselves when we could & marching from 25 to 35 miles per day the weather being fine the first white settlement we came to was St. Stephens where we camped a day or two & from thence went to the Cut off from the Tom Bigbee to the Alabamer river where we lay some days & here Genl Jackson met us his headquarters being at Mobile here we met some of our Neighbours who belonged to the Militia & were stationed at Fort Montgomery one half of Coffee's Brigade were here dismounted left their horses in the Cut off marched for Pensacola where we arrived

on the 6 Nov^{r} 1814 the first cannon ball I ever saw flying was here when we arrived near the town the Genl sent a flag but it was fired on & the ball whistled over our heads cutting off the pine limbs we then expected to commence our selves but were ordered out of the reach of the guns and camped for the night on the next day we marched into Pensacola in three Columns Coffees dismounted regiment & the friendly indians in the centre the mounted men with Hinds dragoons on the right & nearest the fort the regulars next the bay our Column marched up the Street on which the Governors house stood we received two rounds from a Six pounder without any injury & then a white flag was hoisted but this had no effect on the fort for after the Governor had surrendered several shots were fired from it one of them I told the boys I would stop as it came rolling along but was jerked back by a man that had more sense and experience than myself just after it passed us rolling along on the ground it met some obstruction and flew to the height of six feet & never struck the ground again as long as I could see it after while we got possession of the fort & just before night marched back to our old camp the regulars remaining in possession of the Town & fort on the next day we were busy killing beef & some of the mounted men went to the Barancas a fort further down the bay to take possession & hem in the British and force their Vessels to run the gauntlet but both the forts was blown up to prevent it on the next day we started back to the cut off and it was current in Camp that an old tory that was in Pensacola & was taken and protected by Genl Jackson from the men belonging to Hines dragoons whose parents he had robbed in the revolutionary war & fled to Pensacola with the plunder to keep them from Lynching him in fact he had him carefully guarded & it was believed Genl Jackson got from him the news that the British were on their way to N.O. which caused his hasty return & subsequent movements towards the Mississippi we were 23 days getting from the cut off where we had left our horses to the near the mouth of Thompsons Creek and it rained 19 out of the 23 days our clothes & baggage wet nearly all the time we had no tents except for the sick & traveled from 20 to 35 miles per day killing beeves at night for our rations the Country was a wilderness with a few cow raisers & some poor indians & our days march was regulated by the chores of getting beeves

to feed the men which was one cause of the difference in our days marches then was a time for us poor orderlies for we hardly got 3 hours sleep in the 24 for after the beeves were kilt they had to be divided to the companies & then to the messes & we hardly ever got through till after midnight & up at four to get ready for the next days march when we came to a stream we managed to get our baggage & Selves carried over in Canoes or boats & had to swim our horses & they were pretty near used up it was generally a piney country and the ground was so rotten we would frequently mire on the highest hills I think it was about the middle of Dec^{r} when we reached the Mississippi at the mouth of Thompsons Creek & were busy building shelters to winter when an express came from Genl Jackson to Genl Coffee to come to New Orleans just as fast as his horses could bring him in about an hour we were mounted and on the road & each man was ordered to take care of himself & get there as soon as he could by traveling day and night it was Saturday 17 Dec^{r} my horse being foundered I made but little head way the first day staid all night with an old scotch Lady about 20 miles above Baton Rouge who was very kind to me & helped me to work with my horse so that the next morning he got on tolerable well she directed me a near way through the devils swamp as it was called that saved me some four miles travel & as I had but little money she charged me nothing & made me promise to come by & see her if I ever got back home & I got permission on our return to come by the old ladys & stay with her again from some cause I was a great favorite with her she said on my return she had made frequent enquiries about me during the siege & really appeared to take so much interest in me that I felt ashamed particularly as the boys laughed at me about it there were a good many of them there she appeared to think as I was nothing but a Serjeant when I passed going down & had told her so & as I came back & the boys called me Lieut that it was only modesty as I went down that prevented me from claiming that distinction & could not believe anything else She was then about seventy years old & was from the same County in Scotland that Major Mitchell who was taken prisoner on the night of the 23 was knew him and his family well he staid all night at her house as they brought him up to Natchez I got but little sleep that night when I left she made me promise if ever I came near her I would come & see her I believe she truly had a

warm friendship for me she must have gone to her long home long since but as long as I live I will not forget old Madame Fridge & her kindness to the rough boy with the sick horse in Baton Rouge I met Sam[l] N. & John D. Marlin his brother who now lives in H.S. (Holly Springs, Miss.) we there made our acquaintance and as they had been left behind too we agreed to go on together & stuck together until we reached N.O. Wednesday morning just after daylight having traveled pretty much day & night except to rest an hour or two at a time to take a hasty nap & feed our horses & some times get a mouthful to eat the fact is our Brigade was scattered along the Coast some on foot some driving their horses others on horse back poking along all trying to get to headquarters the planters were very kind to us when we stopped & if we would or could have taken time for them to have done it would have fed us & our horses sumptuously but every man appeared to think the safety of the city depended on his getting there after we got to Camp Coffee just above the city we lay there sunning ourselves & drying our clothes until about two oclock P.M. Friday 23 Dec[r] when an order came that the British had landed & were marching on the City in great force & we must hurry down to protect it we were pretty soon in the saddle never was such a hurry before by any of us in less than an hour after the express came we had drawn our ammunition and were on the road we had come a long way for a brush & were now about to be gratified & were in the City in less than two hours after the order issued we were the first troops that went through the City & such a sight I hope to never see again women children & old men moving up town the women crying & screaming for fear of the British the sides of the Streets in the upper part of the city was lined with Negroes with large waiters filled with good liquors which we were urged to drink free of charge we would in galloping past take a bottle knock off the upper part of the neck instead of trying to uncork drink and pass it on in this way we passed through & just after dark left the levee down which we had bee been traveling took out through an old field just as we left the road one of our men whose horse stumbled got his gun broke the Capt wanted him to go back but he would not do it his name was Isaac Burleson a Cousin of Ed Burleson of Texas the boys laughed at him and asked him what he was going to do with a broken gun

he told them some of them would be killed & he would take their Gun & the first one of the British that was killed near him he laid down his rifle a fine one & hauled off the accoutrements of the dead Briton saying a fair exchange is no robbery & made the swap with the dead man the last time I saw him after he got home he still had the Gager & I hope if he is dead his family will keep it for his sake for he certainly was brave & cool a man in danger as I ever saw when our Brigade had left the road & gone some distance we were halted until the regulars & N.O. troops would bring on the engagement while we were waiting we could see the British camp fires burning brightly they little thought from the joley manner in which they were preparing supper old Hickory was so close to them him & Staff went down our line to reconnoiter I suppose and as they came back the old Genl had something to say to each company as he passed which made their blood flow a little faster just at the time he passed our Company the old Carolina moved down the river opposite their Guard & was hailed thus Boat a hoy three times the next word who are you at that the old boat cut loose with a broadside some of the balls passed pretty near us the camp fires of the British died out so suddenly it appeared as if the ground had sunk there & the infantry including city troops & regulars commenced the engagement before we were ordered to move on we could see the blaze from their guns cross each other it appeared at an angle of about 20 degrees both shots too high the British threw some rockets one of our Company old W^m Scott see he said they are throwing red hot balls we were ordered to move on for perhaps a quarter of a mile were ordered to dismount tie our horses two & two together & let them rip the rear of the Brigade said they came pretty near being run over as soon as we had got into the rear of the British where it was intended for us to act we were ordered to form the line & were wheeled in by Companies & just as our Company was brought into line & Col Lauderdale our Lieut Col was turning to bring another company into line he was struck by a ball I think in the forehead & killed we thus lost the commander of our Battallion a rough man a rough man but one of the best field officers in the Brigade and from his rough manners an officer his battalion did not know how to appreciate until we had lost him he had never slept from the Regt from the time we left home until

he was killed & said when we left home he intended to stick to us if he lived until we got home he truly was the Soldiers friend always ready to hear his complaints and if just to see him righted there being no other field officer near when he fell we directly got into confusion in jumping fences & ditches and being entirely unacquainted with the ground although the moon which was near the full at first shined pretty bright our battallion got separated from the balance of the Brigade & while in that situation the reinforcements of the British came on & over the same ground we had just marched over & commenced firing on us Major Kavanaugh who was one of our field officers & after Lauderdale was killed came & took command of us came along past where we were drawn up facing as we thought our own men but in reality the British and asked if some one would go up & tell our Col Dyer that it was his own men he was shooting I stepped out & said if no one else would go I would when I said this Capt J^no^ Donelson who commanded the Rangers said he would go with me & a man belonging to Capt Evans Company from Davidson named Floyd said he would go too he since died in this county near Tallaloosa after we had got one hundred yards from our line they still firing as they approached us Donelson said he would go no further & Floyd stopped with him I told them I disliked to start on an errand & not go through with it I would go on Donelson said I might do as I pleased he would wait for me I pushed on & when I got in about 20 yards of them a field officer I took for our C Col rode up to the line & said there they are give it to them & galloped off to another part of the line I halloed after him & was so sure that it was our Col asked him if he intended killing all his own men a man nearest to me who was on foot said it was a mistake and asked me what Regiment I belonged to I told him first Regt of Coffees Brigade & first battalion & asked him if that was not the 2nd Battallion he said yes by this time I had got close enough to not be so sure it was our folks & stopped the man kept talking I discovered that they had white straps for their bayonets & cartridge boxes just as I made this discovery he ordered me seeing he could not get much closer to me till he was found out to ground my arms for a damned Yankee you may think I was easily fooled as you may have the impression that all the British Soldiers wear red coats which if it had been the case

I could have found them out sooner for although it was night the moon was shining & if their coats had been red I would have detected them before I got so close & known it was not our folks but the uniform of these troops was grey believing too all the enemy were between us & the river it was hard for me to believe we had an enemy in our rear & older men than me were fooled if I was deceived as to who they were he was deceived as to my grounding my arms for although I was tolerable good at a foot race I expect I never made better time that I did that night when they found I did not surrender they commenced firing at me which did not make me run slower from the whistling of the balls I thought the whole British army were shooting at me I hollowed as loud as I could that it was the British and was careful to run down the fence on which the left of our line rested our company at the other end of the line this threw me a smart distance from our company I walked along the rear of the Battallion & told them as I passed it was the British when I got to where our Company was they had not heard me hollow the British and they were mixed up our folks trying to make them believe they were friends & the British saying if you are friends why don't you ground your arms I could easily understand it how our folks were deceived but never understood how the British could be deceived until I read the debates on the $1000 fine in Congress I then understood they thought we were the disaffected citizens mentioned in the debates I soon convinced our folks it was the British they soon all that were in a situation to do it jerked up their arms which in their zeal to satisfy the British of their being friends had grounded them and commenced using them our Cornet & four privates were here taken prisoner our Capt lost his sword our first Lieut shot through the Shoulder after discharging our guns we retreated as they were a great deal too many for us & lay down in a ditch Old W^{m} Scott who saw the hot balls at the commencement of the fight belonged & was an elder in the <u>Seceder</u> Church refused to get into the ditch I called him to come into the ditch he refused & said the same God would protect him there that would in the ditch & he was just as safe as if he was in the ditch he had hardly got the word out of his mouth until his arm(was)broken in two or three places he was so badly wounded that he was one of the six who got a suit of clothes

from an old lady who made six suits of clothes and wanted Genl Coffee to give to six of his bravest men the Genl told her he could not do that as he did not know how to decide that but if she would be satisfied he would give it to six of his worst wounded to this she agreed and old W^m^ Scott & Major David Hubbard got two of the suits after we left the ditch we soon fell in with a portion of the 2nd Regt commanded by Col Williamson & while him and our officers were talking Major Mitchell of the British army came along looking for his Regt it thus appeared the British army with all their discipline were as much confused as we were when he came near our line he asked one of Donelsons men if he could tell him anything of the 95 I presume his regiment the young man ordered him to surrender which he did unbuckled his sword & threw it down and Capt Donelson took it into possession the firing by this time being pretty well over only in little Spurts on different portions of the field Capt Donelson belted Mitchels sword round him & let our Capt have his after some little time our Lieut who was wounded in the shoulder wished for a horse to go to the Hospital I started out to get one for him in wandering about in the Sugar Cane I frequently passed some portions of our men huddled up together trying to get warm

as I passed Donelsons Company he said to one of his Lieut^s^ I wonder what became of the poor fellow that went up to tell the British who we were the other with an oath said his hide would not hold black Jack brush & they could hardly believe me when I told them I was not hurt in fact all that knew anything of my going up & had not seen me afterwards were certain I was killed but through mercy I was not hurt

I met old Col Williamson one of our old neighbors & with whom I had served two Campaigns who was so certain I was killed he could hardly believe it was me when I spoke to him & caught him by the hand he on horseback & me afoot hunting a horse for the Lieut (?) By God old fellow I am glad to see you alive I heard you were killed we got along the balance of the night as we could some spent their time looking for their horses mine was so noted that if he was not gone clear off some body would bring him up sure enough about day light some one that had been hunting his brought mine to me he had lost nothing but my bridle we tried about that time to make a little fire out of the picketts but it did not warm us much my patriotism

at about sun up was at a pretty low ebb I felt a good deal like running if an enemy appeared & the boys all said they felt pretty much as I did the Commissary came up to where we were lying & rolled out some barrels of whiskey & knocked out the head of one I stepped up filled a half pint cup nearly full and drank it off this warmed me all over and made me ready for anything that might come the Regulars & militia soon commenced that celebrated breastwork about which so much has been said about it being nearly all cotton when in fact I dont believe there was 100 bales on the whole line it is true there was a portion of the first work mixed with cotton but the line was over half a mile long some 8 feet high & from 12 to 15 feet wide so it would have taken a great many bales to have even made half of it the greater portion of it was dirt & pickets all the 24th we lay about 150 yards in the rear of the breast work in the old field on Christmas morning our Regt was ordered to the Bayou St John to guard as we understood an engineer who was to select a place for some defences to be erected there we lay near the lake all night it was very cold the moon was at the full and in eclipse we had no wood but Pickets which make a white blaze & but little heat we nearly froze on one side while the other was burning & sparks flew out & burned a hole in the back of my coat about the size of a bullet hole the boys laughed at me and said I had got shot in the back on the 26th we went back to headquarters and just as we passed through N.O. we saw a smoke down the river below the British encampment it was the old Carolina that had got below the British lines & could not be got back consequently she was blown up we again took our position in the rear of the breastwork where we remained all the next day The 2nd Regt of Coffees Brigade occupying the ground on the left of the line of Breastworks with us alternate days until the first of Janry while a portion of the British attempted to turn our left when our Regt was ordered to the extreme left to prevent them from succeeding if they attempted it again where we remained until the close of the Seige our Lieut Baskeville was appointed Major in the Regt a vacancy occurring in consequence of the death of Col Lauderdale & the promotion of Maj^{r} Moulton in Lauderdales place Baskerville was made 2n Maj^{r} which left a vacancy in our Company & I was appointed to succeed him & the first night afterwards was ordered on Pickett

guard during the night some negroes were endeavoring to escape to the British someone of the guard fired on them one of them in running ran up to one of our men who captured him his excuse was that he was lost the others got off I thought to the British the one we caught I sent to headquarters in the morning this night was opened for the first time our 13½ inch morter on them we could hear them talking plainly about it the first fire the Shell bursted in the air the next one I heard them hollow to each other take care & it fell right among them we kept them up nearly all the time on the last night of Dec^{r} there was 150 men detailed from the Tennessee troops to annoy them or take their port guard and put under the command of Col Kemper we were to go down the little ditches that were cut to run into the large ditch that their sentinels were placed on the ditches were about 30 feet apart & about two feet wide & two deep two men went in each ditch just before me and my mate got to the main ditch (as we went two to the ditch) a sentinel that was placed on the main ditch thought he could hear something in the Sugar cane hailed & fired the cane was a great way above our heads we were in no danger but one of Hines dragoons six hundred yards off said he came very near being hit when the sentinel fired all the rest of the line done the same thing the alarm became General & we kept them confused nearly all night the next morning they moved a battery up within Six hundred yards of our line & commenced the new year by a heavy discharge of cannonading & rockets we were just eating our breakfast still in the rear of the breastworks in the ditch Genl Jackson & Coffee were standing near the head of our Company the rockets came pretty thick then the firing of small arms commenced in the swamp on our left where our 2nd Regt was stationed Genl Jackson ordered Coffee to take our Regt to their assistance Coffee mounted our quartermasters horse which was tied near our Company we followed him across the old field the rockets it appeared to me were flying pretty thick I thought we were a long time getting across the old field to the shelter of the trees in the edge of the swamp but by the time we reached the left of the 2nd Regt the firing had ceased & the British had retreated we then commenced preparations for taking our permanent positions in the swamp by cutting down the trees & making a breastwork of logs & clearing the

undergrowth away in front of our line for about forty yards making fires & fixing up our tents on platforms of pickets to sleep on when we first got to our position on the left of the 2nd Regt we were ordered to lay down on the edge of the ditch we threw ourselves down & to shew how completely we were worn down & careless as to danger I had not been in that position ten minutes after all was still until I was sound asleep and we all slept from that time until the British left with our clothes all on our muskets in our arms when we could get to sleep at all the evening we left Camp Coffee to come down to the first battle I put on a pair of new shoes good home made ones & never took them off untill I kicked them off after we left the lines to return to our encampment above N.O. after all was over they were completely rotten by moving up so near our lines they annoyed us a good deal and it was determined to send out some men to try & take their Guns fifty men from Coffees and 100 from Carrolls division the young subalterns all wanted to go & had to draw for it I drew a prise and consequently was one that went Capt White of the 2nd Regt commanded the men from our Brigade we marched out on the levvee & were ordered to advance on the battery the british were protected by some houses at their battery just as we were making ready a heavy shower of rain came up & we were ordered into our lines when the rain was over we were marched out again after receiving one fire from their battery we were again ordered into our lines none of us was hurt but I thought the grape fell around us pretty thick the holes in the ends of their guns looked very large just as we got in our lines we discovered the house near where they had erected their battery & which sheltered them some little from our sight was on fire they left their battery that night & let their cannon remain where they had placed them when they moved up there nothing of any importance occurred until the morning of the 8th Jany except the strengthening of our lines on that morning a dull & cloudy one just before day light I was lying awake & thought I could hear a rumbling sound presently the artillery opened & it was pretty near a constant roar until they had advanced and retreated the third time & although our Brigade with the exception of two companies on our right were not engaged & they in the edge of the old field the others were too far in the woods to be in any danger but I know I

suffered a great deal more than if I had been in the hottest part the British had a brass cannon that was with the column nearest the swamp that made as sharp a crack as a rifle we could tell by this when they advanced or retreated just before the firing ceased it was reported to head quarters the troops on the opposite bank had retreated before the British this went like a flash of lightning along the line & we were all expecting a cannonade from that side every minute to rake our lines I happened to be by the side of a large sweet gum stump I laughingly told the boys I had located on the side of that stump farthest from the river & if the worst came they must not interfere with my location but just at this time it was reported to Genl Coffee our Pickett Guard had retreated he was standing near our Company with his staff he turned to our adjutant told him to detail twenty men & send them with me to take the place of the guard that had left I disliked the berth very much as I did not know the reason they had for retreating but marched off with the men and remained there until nearly night consequently saw but little of the havoc we had made in the British lines in fact all I saw of it was the smoke from our guns during the engagement on the next morning Genl Coffee ordered me to go with one of Capt Beenes spies through the Swamp opposite the British camp & see what discoveries I could make as to what they were doing we started off down the edge of the Swamp just out of sight of the field and kept on until we got as we thought far enough to get a good view of them & I endeavoured by climbing to get a sight of what they were at it was raining and every thing was wet & no tree small enough for me to climb but some cypress & Gums that had no limbs for 40 feet after trying until I had taken the skin off my legs & arms I gave it up & we started back to report we were going along talking very cagy trying to make out something to say for ourselves came to a ditch that we thought led to our camp went up it until we got to the edge of the field could hear talking the palmettoes was very thick & we stepped through them into the open space we were right in on the midst of the British lines and in less than 30 steps of a crowd of them fortunately they did not discover us we stepped back behind the palmettoes & were hid from them but were too much flurried to take many notes of what they were doing but made the best of our way to our own folks

when we got there I reported to Col Elliott what we had seen but failed to report to Genl Coffee who came to our Company & told me I ought to have reported to him he asked me a good many questions as to what I thought they were doing I told him the only fair sight I got of them I was a little confused but I believed they were burying their dead could see nothing that looked like they were fixing to leave he laughed & told me Beene said he just took me up there to see what metal I was made of and that he knew where he was going when he went up there I told the Genl it was true I was lost and scared but Beene was as bad lost & scared as I was he said he thought this very probable but little occurred after this that I had any particular concern with until the British left on the morning after they left in the night we followed them several miles but did not over take them on looking at their encampment the ground was pretty well and thoroughly plowed with the cannon balls the next day after hearing an order from our Genl congratulating us on our conduct during the Seige we returned to our old encampment above N.O. on this march as our horses were up there before & we had to go afoot I kicked off my shoes as I mentioned in another place & walked up to camp in my stocking feet the next day I got a pair of shoes that lasted me home after we had been some time at Camp Coffee corn began to get scarce & Genl Coffee ordered me with 20 men to take charge of a barge & go up the river to get corn for our horses I still have the order & insert it here below

Camp above Orleans 28 Jan^{y} 1815

> Lieut Edmondson of Capt Jone's Company will take command of the Barge & men that are detailed to work her and proceed with the barge up the river Mississippi until Lieut Bedford who will go by land purchases a load of corn which you will bring to camp without delay If you see my corn boats on the river coming down put one of your men on board with orders that he push her night & day until he arrives here and report her to the quarter master of Brigade Major Rose great reliance is placed in your prompt execution of this order
>
> I am with due regards
> John Coffee
> Brig^{r} Genl

Lieut Bedford bought the corn & I with the men loaded the boat with it the corn we purchased of the negroes at the different plantations on the coast with the approbation of their owners the custom with the planters these days on the Coast was to allow each negro a flour barrel of corn in the ears per month for head the negroes

never worked for their masters before sun rise nor after sun down before and after that time they had rice patches and worked in them in this way they made rice enough for bread & sold the corn to any one that would buy it we were gone from Headquarters eight days here I had the first spell during that campaign which run into the jaundice & did not recover my health again for a year however we got the corn & got with it to Head quarters where it was much needed about this time the Quinsey broke out killed some and a good many suffered very much one of our men had his throat cut & breathed through a silver tube for several hours but finally recovered when we heard officially that peace was made there was an exchange of prisoners when ours came to us they brought company with them that was not very agreeable & consequently annoyed us a good deal I mean body lice the last one I saw was in a mile of home after I had thrown away all my clothes but a clean suit which I put on at Columbia I found one in my sock just before I got home where he had sheltered I cant tell but my sock had to go too & I saw no more of them after we heard the news of peace we commenced preparing to return home I was in town getting our horses shod for the homeward march they were preparing for a celebration on acct of peace when we were leaving in the evening they commenced firing the cannon the horse I had swapped my fine roan for had been taken prisoner & used by the British for a pack horse he was so much afraid of the firing that I could hardly hold him in fact though poor he was pretty near unmanageable & with difficulty I got safe to camp & when Genl Jackson got to Nashville I knew him so well that I took my fathers horse telling him I was afraid mine would not stand fire after I left and went out with the crowd though it was raining the old man could not stand it took my horse and came on when we got in about a mile of town I found him standing on the side of the road holding the horse & him in such a flurry that he could hardly be managed though my father had him by the bridle but he would not let me have him but made me keep with the crowd & he staid behind & let the crowd pass though an ugly horse one of the best I ever owned after several dissappointments as to starting hom we got under way at last and as proud of it as boys get to be we had had a laborious & hard campaign & been exposed greatly but those of

us who were well felt that our trials though great were over our duty we had done faithfully but were rejoiced that we were starting for home we were much longer getting to Thompsons Creek than we were going down came through Baton Rouge Woodville Waiting at the latter place we met our sick who had been brought by water thus far when we got to Brashires where the Lake road from N.O. & the road from Natchez intersect we met Carrols division one of my school mates Samuel W Hope who belonged to it was sick he sent for me & told me they were arranging to leave the sick of their division & asked me to try and get him off with us he said if he was left he would die he knew I saw his Capt who was willing to let us take him if the Genl would agree & after a good deal of trouble got him off put him on my horse & brought him home there were now seven in my mess & we had but five horses so two of us walked all the time we were all school mates & did not mind this much as we liked our school mate & he was very sick his brother was in our mess & attended to him during the day he had a sore ancle & was not able to walk any my horse pleased him so much he would ride him all the time none of us ever regretted the trouble we had with him in getting him home at least I never did for he was a true friend & never afterwards let any opportunity slip of showing it he has long since gone to his long home in fact in all that seven if there is but three of us now alive I don't know it myself John Fitzhugh still in old Davidson & Ebenezer Frazior in Texas the rest have paid the debt we all owe never shall I forget getting home this time all had scattered towards their homes none but me and Hope together he riding my horse I walking by his side we had been gone over seven months had travelled between two & three thousand miles the most of the distance through a wilderness country rain or shine we went hot or cold without tents to shelter us we went but our sufferings were not greater than that of our friends at home on our account the mail came from N.O. twice a month & afterwards my father told me mail days from N.O. the crowd round the Post office was very great if any one got a letter from N.O. all had to hear it read I wrote him about my scrape on the night of the 23rd Decr it had to be read out it caused some feeling with those that knew me & my old Father I was told cried like a child though

that was a part that he never told me at that time in our part of the Country there was no division with all it was our Country right or wrong

I got home just after breakfast the big road from Huntsville to Nashville ran about two hundred yards east of the house & a lane turned up to the front of the house Hope rode my horse I walked across the lot a near cut they were not expecting us till night but father in his anxiety to see me had started out the road we were to come expecting to be able to see or hear something met Hope & turned back but before they got in sight I had got on the top of the yard fence several of the family were walking about in the yard none of them saw me until I fired off my pistol & then such a hurrah as we had none but them that have gone through just such a scrape as we had can tell how we all felt for myself I was fully paid for all my trials my dear old Mother hung on my neck I was her youngest my father & sisters too could not help exalting over my safe return I always thought until I went into the army my father had a poor opinion of my ever doing much but staying around my mother as her spoiled pet which I was but after my first Campaign he never complained of me in that way this closes my account of my services in the war of 1812 & if the necessity ever exists may my sons as cheerfully follow in my footsteps that far at least but there are a great many errors I have committed in my voyage through life may they looking at my course avoid

Copyright (c) Frazor T. Edmondson, III, 2024

Permission is granted to copy, distribute and/or modify the References portion only of this document under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License, Version 1.3or any later version published by the Free Software Foundation; with no Invariant Sections, no Front-Cover Texts, and no Back-Cover Texts. A copy of the license is included in the section entitled "GNU

Free Documentation License". 0. PREAMBLE

The purpose of this License is to make a manual, textbook, or other functional and useful document "free" in the sense of freedom: to assure everyone the effective freedom to copy and redistribute it, with or without modifying it, either commercially or noncommercially. Secondarily, this License preserves for the author and publisher a way to get credit for their work, while not being considered responsible for modifications made by others. This License is a kind of "copyleft", which means that derivative works of the document must themselves be free in the same sense. It complements the GNU General Public License, which is a copyleft license designed for free software. We have designed this License in order to use it for manuals for free software, because free software needs free documentation: a free program should come with manuals providing the same freedoms that the software does. But this License is not limited to software manuals; it can be used for any textual work, regardless of subject matter or whether it is published as a printed book. We recommend this License principally for works whose purpose is instruction or reference.

1. APPLICABILITY AND DEFINITIONS

This License applies to any manual or other work, in any medium, that contains a notice placed by the copyright holder saying it can be distributed under the terms of this License. Such a notice grants a world-wide, royalty-free license, unlimited in duration, to use that work under the conditions stated herein. The "Document", below, refers to any such manual or work. Any member of the public is a licensee, and is addressed as "you". You accept the license if you copy, modify or distribute the work in a way requiring permission under copyright law. A "Modified Version" of the Document means any work containing the Document or a portion of it, either copied verbatim, or with modifications and/or translated into another language. A "Secondary Section" is a named appendix or a front-matter section of the Document that deals exclusively with the relationship of the publishers or authors of the Document to the Document's overall subject (or to related matters) and contains nothing that could fall directly within that overall subject. (Thus, if the Document is in part a textbook of mathematics, a Secondary Section may not explain any mathematics.) The relationship could be a matter of historical connection with the subject or with related matters, or of legal, commercial, philosophical, ethical or political position regarding them. The "Invariant Sections" are certain Secondary Sections whose titles are designated, as being those of Invariant Sections, in the notice that says that the Document is released under this License. If a section does not fit the above definition of Secondary then it is not allowed to be designated as Invariant. The Document may contain zero Invariant Sections. If the Document does not identify any Invariant Sections then there are none. The "Cover Texts" are certain short passages of text that are listed, as Front-Cover Texts or Back-Cover Texts, in the notice that says that the Document is released under this License. A Front-Cover Text may be at most 5 words, and a Back-Cover Text may be at most 25 words. A "Transparent" copy of the Document means a machine-readable copy, represented in a format whose specification is available to the general public, that is suitable for revising the document straightforwardly with generic text editors or (for images composed of pixels) generic paint programs or (for drawings) some widely available drawing editor, and that is suitable for input to text formatters or for automatic translation to a variety of formats suitable for input to text formatters. A copy made in an otherwise Transparent file format whose markup, or absence of markup, has been arranged to thwart or discourage subsequent modification by readers is not Transparent. An image format is not Transparent if used for any substantial amount of text. A copy that is not "Transparent" is called "Opaque". Examples of suitable formats for Transparent copies include plain ASCII without markup, Texinfo input format, LaTeX input format, SGML or XML using a publicly available DTD, and standard-conforming simple HTML, PostScript or PDF designed for human modification. Examples of transparent image formats include PNG, XCF and JPG. Opaque formats include proprietary formats that can be read and edited only by proprietary word processors, SGML or XML for which the DTD and/or processing tools are not generally available, and the machine-generated HTML, PostScript or PDF produced by some word processors for output purposes only. The "Title Page" means, for a printed book, the title page itself, plus such following pages as are needed to hold, legibly, the material this License requires to appear in the title page. For works in formats which do not have any title page as such,

"Title Page" means the text near the most prominent appearance of the work's title, preceding the beginning of the body of the text. The "publisher" means any person or entity that distributes copies of the Document to the public. A section "Entitled XYZ" means a named subunit of the Document whose title either is precisely XYZ or contains XYZ in parentheses following text that translates XYZ in another language. (Here XYZ stands for a specific section name mentioned below, such as "Acknowledgements", "Dedications", "Endorsements", or "History".) To "Preserve the Title" of such a section when you modify the Document means that it remains a section "Entitled XYZ" according to this definition. The Document may include Warranty Disclaimers next to the notice which states that this License applies to the Document. These Warranty Disclaimers are considered to be included by reference in this License, but only as regards disclaiming warranties: any other implication that these Warranty Disclaimers may have is void and has no effect on the meaning of this License.

2. VERBATIM COPYING

You may copy and distribute the Document in any medium, either commercially or noncommercially, provided that this License, the copyright notices, and the license notice saying this License applies to the Document are reproduced in all copies, and that you add no other conditions whatsoever to those of this License. You may not use technical measures to obstruct or control the reading or further copying of the copies you make or distribute. However, you may accept compensation in exchange for copies. If you distribute a large enough number of copies you must also follow the conditions in section 3. You may also lend copies, under the same conditions stated above, and you may publicly display copies.

3. COPYING IN QUANTITY

If you publish printed copies (or copies in media that commonly have printed covers) of the Document, numbering more than 100, and the Document's license notice requires Cover Texts, you must enclose the copies in covers that carry, clearly and legibly, all these Cover Texts: Front-Cover Texts on the front cover, and Back-Cover Texts on the back cover. Both covers must also clearly and legibly identify you as the publisher of these copies. The front cover must present the full title with all words of the title equally prominent and visible. You may add other material on the covers in addition. Copying with changes limited to the covers, as long as they preserve the title of the Document and satisfy these conditions, can be treated as verbatim copying in other respects. If the required texts for either cover are too voluminous to fit legibly, you should put the first ones listed (as many as fit reasonably) on the actual cover, and continue the rest onto adjacent pages. If you publish or distribute Opaque copies of the Document numbering more than 100, you must either include a machine-readable Transparent copy along with each Opaque copy, or state in or with each Opaque copy a computer-network location from which the general network-using public has access to download using public-standard network protocols a complete Transparent copy of the Document, free of added material. If you use the latter option, you must take reasonably prudent steps, when you begin distribution of Opaque copies in quantity, to ensure that this Transparent copy will remain thus accessible at the stated location until at least one year after the last time you distribute an Opaque copy (directly or through your agents or retailers) of that edition to the public. It is requested, but not required, that you contact the authors of the Document well before redistributing any large number of copies, to give them a chance to provide you with an updated version of the Document.

4. MODIFICATIONS

You may copy and distribute a Modified Version of the Document under the conditions of sections 2 and 3 above, provided that you release the Modified Version under precisely this License, with the Modified Version filling the role of the Document, thus licensing distribution and modification of the Modified Version to whoever possesses a copy of it. In addition, you must do these things in the Modified Version: Use in the Title Page (and on the covers, if any) a title distinct from that of the Document, and from those of previous versions (which should, if there were any, be listed in the History section of the Document). You may use the same title as a previous version if the original publisher of that version gives permission. List on the Title Page, as authors, one or more persons or entities responsible for authorship of the modifications in the Modified Version, together with at least five of the principal authors of the Document (all of its principal authors, if it has fewer than five), unless they release you from this requirement. State on the Title page the name of the publisher of the Modified Version, as the publisher.Preserve all the copyright notices of the Document. Add an appropriate copyright notice for your modifications adjacent to the other copyright notices. Include, immediately after the copyright notices, a license notice giving the public permission to use the Modified Version under the terms of this License, in the form shown in the Addendum below. Preserve in that license notice the full lists of Invariant Sections and required Cover Texts given in the Document's license notice.

Include an unaltered copy of this License.

Preserve the section Entitled "History", Preserve its Title, and add to it an item stating at least the title, year, new authors, and publisher of the Modified Version as given on the Title Page. If there is no section Entitled "History" in the Document, create one stating the title, year, authors, and publisher of the Document as given on its Title Page, then add an item describing the Modified Version as stated in the previous sentence. Preserve the network location, if any, given in the Document for public access to a Transparent copy of the Document, and likewise the network locations given in the Document for previous versions it was based on. These may be placed in the "History" section. You may omit a network location for a work that was published at least four years before the Document itself, or if the original publisher of the version it refers to gives permission. For any section Entitled "Acknowledgements" or "Dedications", Preserve the Title of the section, and preserve in the section all the substance and tone of each of the contributor acknowledgements and/or dedications given therein. Preserve all the Invariant Sections of the Document, unaltered in their text and in their titles. Section numbers or the equivalent are not considered part of the section titles. Delete any section Entitled "Endorsements". Such a section may not be included in the Modified version. Do not retitle any existing section to be Entitled "Endorsements" or to conflict in title with any Invariant Section. Preserve any Warranty Disclaimers.

If the Modified Version includes new front-matter sections or appendices that qualify as Secondary Sections and contain no material copied from the Document, you may at your option designate some or all of these sections as invariant. To do this, add their titles to the list of Invariant Sections in the Modified Version's license notice. These titles must be distinct from any other section titles. You may add a section Entitled "Endorsements", provided it contains nothing but endorsements of your Modified Version by various parties—for example, statements of peer review or that the text has been approved by an organization as the authoritative definition of a standard. You may add a passage of up to five words as a Front-Cover Text, and a passage of up to 25 words as a Back-Cover Text, to the end of the list of Cover Texts in the Modified Version. Only one passage of Front-Cover Text and one of Back-Cover Text may be added by (or through arrangements made by) any one entity. If the Document already includes a cover text for the same cover, previously added by you or by arrangement made by the same entity you are acting on behalf of, you may not add another; but you may replace the old one, on explicit permission from the previous publisher that added the old one. The author(s) and publisher(s) of the Document do not by this License give permission to use their names for publicity for or to assert or imply endorsement of any Modified Version.

5. COMBINING DOCUMENTS

You may combine the Document with other documents released under this License, under the terms defined in section 4 above for modified versions, provided that you include in the combination all of the Invariant Sections of all of the original documents, unmodified, and list them all as Invariant Sections of your combined work in its license notice, and that you preserve all their Warranty Disclaimers. The combined work need only contain one copy of this License, and multiple identical Invariant Sections may be replaced with a single copy. If there are multiple Invariant Sections with the same name but different contents, make the title of each such section unique by adding at the end of it, in parentheses, the name of the original author or publisher of that section if known, or else a unique number. Make the same adjustment to the section titles in the list of Invariant Sections in the license notice of the combined work. In the combination, you must combine any sections Entitled "History" in the various original documents, forming one section Entitled "History"; likewise combine any sections Entitled "Acknowledgements", and any sections Entitled "Dedications". You must delete all sections Entitled "Endorsements".

6. COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

You may make a collection consisting of the Document and other documents released under this License, and replace the individual copies of this License in the various documents with a single copy that is included in the collection, provided that you follow the rules of this License for verbatim copying of each of the documents in all other respects. You may extract a single document from such a collection, and distribute it individually under this License, provided you insert a copy of this License into the extracted document, and follow this License in all other respects regarding verbatim copying of that document.

7. AGGREGATION WITH INDEPENDENT WORKS

A compilation of the Document or its derivatives with other separate and independent documents or works, in or on a volume of a storage or distribution medium, is called an "aggregate" if the copyright resulting from the compilation is not used to limit the legal rights of the compilation's users beyond what the individual works permit. When the Document is included in an aggregate, this License does not apply to the other works in the aggregate which are not themselves derivative works of the Document.

If the Cover Text requirement of section 3 is applicable to these copies of the Document, then if the Document is less than one half of the entire aggregate, the Document's Cover Texts may be placed on covers that bracket the Document within the aggregate, or the electronic equivalent of covers if the Document is in electronic form. Otherwise they must appear on printed covers that bracket the whole aggregate.

8. TRANSLATION

Translation is considered a kind of modification, so you may distribute translations of the Document under the terms of section 4. Replacing Invariant Sections with translations requires special permission from their copyright holders, but you may include translations of some or all Invariant Sections in addition to the original versions of these Invariant Sections. You may include a translation of this License, and all the license notices in the Document, and any Warranty Disclaimers, provided that you also include the original English version of this License and the original versions of those notices and disclaimers. In case of a disagreement between the translation and the original version of this License or a notice or disclaimer, the original version will prevail. If a section in the Document is Entitled "Acknowledgements", "Dedications", or "History", the requirement (section 4) to Preserve its Title (section 1) will typically require changing the actual title.

9. TERMINATION

You may not copy, modify, sublicense, or distribute the Document except as expressly provided under this License. Any attempt otherwise to copy, modify, sublicense, or distribute it is void, and will automatically terminate your rights under this License. However, if you cease all violation of this License, then your license from a particular copyright holder is reinstated (a) provisionally, unless and until the copyright holder explicitly and finally terminates your license, and (b) permanently, if the copyright holder fails to notify you of the violation by some reasonable means prior to 60 days after the cessation. Moreover, your license from a particular copyright holder is reinstated permanently if the copyright holder notifies you of the violation by some reasonable means, this is the first time you have received notice of violation of this License (for any work) from that copyright holder, and you cure the violation prior to 30 days after your receipt of the notice. Termination of your rights under this section does not terminate the licenses of parties who have received copies or rights from you under this License. If your rights have been terminated and not permanently reinstated, receipt of a copy of some or all of the same material does not give you any rights to use it.

10. FUTURE REVISIONS OF THIS LICENSE

The Free Software Foundation may publish new, revised versions of the GNU Free Documentation License from time to time. Such new versions will be similar in spirit to the present version, but may differ in detail to address new problems or concerns. See https://www.gnu.org/copyleft/.

Each version of the License is given a distinguishing version number. If the Document specifies that a particular numbered version of this License "or any later version" applies to it, you have the option of following the terms and conditions either of that specified version or of any later version that has been published (not as a draft) by the Free Software Foundation. If the Document does not specify a version number of this License, you may choose any version ever published (not as a draft) by the Free Software Foundation. If the Document specifies that a proxy can decide which future versions of this License can be used, that proxy's public statement of acceptance of a version permanently authorizes you to choose that version for the Document.

11. RELICENSING

"Massive Multiauthor Collaboration Site" (or "MMC Site") means any World Wide Web server that publishes copyrightable works and also provides prominent facilities for anybody to edit those works. A public wiki that anybody can edit is an example of such a server. A "Massive Multiauthor Collaboration" (or "MMC") contained in the site means any set of copyrightable works thus published on the MMC site ."CC-BY-SA" means the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license published by Creative Commons Corporation, a not-for-profit corporation with a principal place of business in San Francisco, California, as well as future copyleft versions of that license published by that same organization. “Incorporate" means to publish or republish a Document, in whole or in part, as part of another Document. An MMC is "eligible for relicensing" if it is licensed under this License, and if all works that were first published under this License somewhere other than this MMC, and subsequently incorporated in whole or in part into the MMC, (1) had no cover texts or invariant sections, and (2) were thus incorporated prior to November 1, 2008. The operator of an MMC Site may republish an MMC contained in the site under CC-BY-SA on the same site at any time before August 1, 2009, provided the MMC is eligible for relicensing.